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ART. I.—*Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church. Delivered at St. Mary's Moorfields during the Lent of 1836. By Nicholas Wiseman, D.D. A New Edition.* London.

It is not our design to enter into an examination of the whole of this work; we mean to confine our observations to Lectures VI. and VII. on Protestant and Roman-catholic missions.

The first of these Lectures is on Mark xvi. 15, 'Go ye unto the whole world, and preach the Gospel to every creature;' and our author thus introduces the subject:

'This, my brethren, was an important commission, delivered by our Saviour to the apostles. It stands in close connexion with his other command on which I have already expatiated at length; to "teach all nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever he had commanded them," with his promise to be with them "all days, even unto the end of the world." On that occasion I endeavoured to show you, by the construction of the very text, that there was annexed a power of success to the commission given: so that what was therein enjoined to the apostles and their successors in the Church of Christ, he himself would for ever enable them to put in execution. It must, therefore, be an important criterion of the true religion of Christ, or, in other words, of that foundation whereon he intended his faith to be built, to see where that blessing, that promise of success from his assistance, hath rested, and where, by its actually lacking effect, it can be shown to have been perpetuated, according to the words of our blessed Redeemer.'—p. 163.

Whether, or how far the success or the failure of the missionary efforts of a church is a criterion of its being a true church, it is not our design here to inquire. We wish to avoid all questions which might lead us into lengthened discussions without, perhaps, reaching a conclusion that would appear to all persons undoubted and satisfactory; while our readers might thereby be withdrawn from those FACTS on which it is our wish to fix their special and undivided attention.

I. It is plain that Dr. Wiseman, in entering on the consideration of the subject, knew exceedingly little about Protestant mission. As the question which he proposed to discuss was a very important one, he was bound in honour and in honesty to inform himself fully on the subject; and in order to this, it was at once fair and necessary that he should make himself acquainted with the *best* and most *authoritative* accounts of Protestant missions. We do not mean that he was bound to *receive* these accounts as true; he was quite entitled to impeach them whenever he could find grounds for doing so, or even to express his doubts of them, wherever there was a shadow of suspicion. All we say is, that he was bound to make himself acquainted with them, and to make a righteous, intelligent, candid use of them. On this head Dr. Wiseman makes repeated and large professions:

‘I have not always,’ he says, ‘had the convenience of consulting documents down to the very latest period; and I have consequently been obliged to content myself with such as have come within my reach. I mention this as a precaution that if I do not always quote the notice as received within this and the last year, it may not be supposed that I have been ruled by a wish to avoid what might appear adverse to my assertions. With the greatest pleasure I would have examined the history of every mission down to the present day, if my other avocations had permitted me; or if it were possible to have access to the necessary documents.\* It has been in my power, however, to obtain those of two or three years ago in a pretty complete form; and this is why I shall seem to choose my specimens from that period.’—p. 166.

Again he says:—

‘I am not conscious of having concealed anything, or having overlooked any testimony that could go against me. I have carefully drawn my extracts from the original Reports; but I have not given you half the store of materials which I had brought together in examining the subject.’—p. 198.

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\* This was perfectly easy. By sending to the offices of the various societies, he would have obtained their latest reports; and by applying to any bookseller, he might have got their monthly publications.



He says again:—

‘You will observe that I have hardly quoted any authorities that can be considered hostile to the Missionary Societies. I have scarcely referred to any Catholic writer; and in general have chosen such witnesses as cannot be considered as opposed to the scheme of proselytism. I have endeavoured to choose my authorities from the missionaries themselves, from their Reports, or from their acknowledged advocates.’—p. 205.

These are very plausible professions, and are well calculated to draw forth the confidence of his readers. But how stands the fact? We can assure our readers that, so far as appears from his Lectures, the author had not read nor consulted any *Report* or *official* publication of any of our principal missionary institutions,—the London, the Baptist, the Church, the Methodist, the General Baptist, the Scottish, or the Glasgow Missionary Societies; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; the American Board for Foreign Missions; the American Baptist Missionary Union; the Moravians, or United Brethren, or any of the other missionary bodies on the continent of Europe, with perhaps the exception of *one* Report of the Church Missionary Society, and that so far back as 1820, and a volume of the Missionary Register (for it is not clear that he had seen both), and the Reports of the Christian Knowledge Society for 1825 and 1827, and of the Propagation Society for 1826, 1827, and 1828. With a few exceptions, the chief authorities to which he refers possess little or no weight; some of them are mere *second-hand* authorities, as the ‘Quarterly Review,’ the ‘Monthly Review,’ the ‘British Critic,’ the ‘Catholic Miscellany,’ &c.,—works to which no friend of Protestant missions would for a moment defer. It even appears doubtful whether he had seen some of the works to which he refers, or knew anything more of them than the name. So much for the truthfulness and trustworthiness of Dr. Wiseman’s professions.

II. The great test by which he estimates the success of missions is the number of converts; and we shall now make a few remarks on his statements on this subject.

1. Bishop Heber had said, ‘There are now in the South of India about 200 Protestant congregations, the number of which have been sometimes vaguely stated at 40,000. I doubt whether they reach 15,000; but even this, all things considered, is certainly a great number.’ Having quoted this statement, Dr. W. adds, ‘And certainly it is a great number; and I have no hesitation in saying, very much too great, as I shall at once proceed to show you.’ He accordingly proceeds to adduce some statements on the subject, and then comes his conclusion: ‘So that the number first stated at 40,000, then at

15,000, is by the report of the missionaries themselves reduced to 1388.' He afterwards says, 'But even here I must modify the returns still further: because I find it asserted by an authority of great weight, and I have reason to think that these conversions of Schwartz and his followers were chiefly among the half-casts or descendants of Europeans.' Thus he got rid of the conversion of *heathens* nearly altogether. This was a reduction of numbers with a witness. It is scarcely worth while to remark that 'the authority of great weight,' to which he refers, does not at all warrant his conclusion. It is, however, of importance to state that the number 1388 must have referred simply to the congregations *immediately* in connexion with Tanjore, and perhaps also with Trichinopoly; but Bishop Heber did not refer specially to these places when he gave his estimate of 15,000: his words are, 'the South of India.' Now the great body of the Christians, to whom he alluded, were not at these places, though they were the head-quarters of the mission; but 'in the South of India,' chiefly in the Tinnevely district. We apprehend, indeed, there was no material error, in Bishop Heber's estimate. We could support it, if our limits permitted us to enter into details, by respectable authorities. Dr. Brown, in his 'History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen,' after entering into some details on the subject, comes to the following conclusion: 'The whole body of native Christians connected with the mission on the coast of Coromandel, including children, may therefore be calculated at about 16,000; but we are sorry to understand that vital Christianity is at a low ebb among them.\*' Of the latter remark, Dr Wiseman has no right to take advantage. The great question with him is *numbers* as a test of success; and we may add, that we do not doubt that these Christians would at least compare with the converts of the church of Rome.

2. 'The Moravians,' he says, 'established many missions in the last century; in Saxony, in 1735; on the coast of Guinea 1737; in Georgia 1738; at Algiers 1739; in Ceylon 1740; in Persia 1747; and in Egypt 1750; of which not the slightest trace exists at the present day.' Thus he dismisses the Moravian missions. He gives a particular enumeration of those which failed; but *he makes no mention of the various and interesting missions which succeeded.* Was he ignorant of their existence? This is scarcely conceivable.

3. He is still more brief in the notice which he takes of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, and as he says nothing of its having had any success, his readers are left to conclude

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\* Brown's Hist., vol. i. p. 229.

that it had none, or at least, none worthy of being mentioned. He, indeed, says—‘Since that time (1800), a great number of *secondary* associations have sprung up; many of them formed by members of different religions in this country, as the *Wesleyans* and others, whom it is not necessary to enumerate.’ p. 166. Yet, though he ranks the Wesleyans as only a *secondary institution*, in the very next page (p. 167), in stating the incomes of the principal Missionary Societies in Great Britain, he gives theirs as £55,565, a larger sum than he assigns to either the London, the Church, or the Baptist Missionary Societies, or to the Propagation Society, or the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The Wesleyans, therefore, scarcely deserved to be treated in so slighting and summary manner.\*

4. Of the London Missionary Society, his account is about equally brief. ‘In 1795, the London Missionary Society, which belongs to the Independent Congregation, was also formed.’ Its income, he states at £48,226; and he afterwards quotes authorities for its missionaries in Calcutta ‘not having produced above *one* proselyte!’ (pp. 166, 167, 182, 184.)

This is the whole of his account of the London Missionary Society, and of its success. Not a word of Tahiti or other islands in the Pacific Ocean. Now wherefore was this? Had he never heard of these islands, nor of the remarkable success with which, it was generally alleged, and was commonly believed among Protestants, that the missions of that Society had been attended? If he had not heard of these things, where had he lived all his days? If he had heard of them, as we doubt not he had in common with the rest of the world, why did he pass them *sub silentio*? He professed to be guiding his hearers to a right solution of a very momentous question—namely, What is or what is not the true church; and he withholds important evidence bearing on that question. What would be thought of a witness, who should do this in a court of law? We suppose he would be punished for perjury. Dr. W., it is true, was not *upon oath* when he preached these Lectures at St. Mary’s Moorfields; but an honest, upright, honourable man will speak ‘the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,’ whether he is in the pulpit or in the witness box.†

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\* He afterwards, indeed, states that the Wesleyan Missionary Society was reported to have 623 agents; but this is for the purpose, not of showing its importance, but of depreciating its success.

† In the subsequent lecture on Roman-catholic Missions, Dr. Wiseman does make reference to the Society Islands. It is near the close, and is in these words: ‘The Independents have laboured long and zealously for the



5. Of the mission in Burmah, conducted by the American Baptist Board, Dr. Wiseman says—‘That I may not have occasion to return again to it, I will briefly mention the mission which it endeavoured to establish in the Burman Empire by means of Mr. Judson and his lady. They resided there a number of years, and published their own journal. The result of their mission, *from their own confession*, was, that after seven years, they had not made a single convert; that after the seventh year they received *one*, and that he afterwards brought another, so that in the end they had *four* proselytes, when, in consequence of the war breaking out, the mission was broken up.’ (p. 184.) We have already charged our author with *withholding* evidence, but here he has the effrontery to bear *false witness*.

At the foot of the page Dr. Wiseman gives his authority for this statement in these words :—‘See their Journal, or its review in the ‘Quarterly,’ December, 1825, p. 53.’ Now, what is the account in ‘their Journal’ to which he thus refers us as an authority for the above statement? Here is an extract from Mr Judson’s ‘Journal,’ near the close of the volume, he being then about to proceed to Ava, the capital :—

‘August 21st (1822). Early in the morning, I administered baptism to May Mee, the eighteenth Burman convert. Two more still remain, Moung Myat-lah, and Mah Ing, the one deterred by fear of government, the other by the fear of her husband. Add to these a desirable number of hopeful inquirers; and I feel that I am leaving, at least for a time, one of the most interesting fields of labour that was ever opened to a missionary. But the path of duty leads to Ava, and it is infinitely easy for God to open there a more interesting field.”\*

Such is Mr. Judson’s account of the state and prospects of his mission in 1822. How different from Dr. Wiseman’s, though he professes to found his statement on ‘their own confession,’ in ‘their Journal’!

Neither is he correct in saying,—‘In the end they had four proselytes, when, in consequence of the war breaking out, the mission was broken up.’ The mission exists to this day. It was interrupted by the invasion of the country by the British in 1824; but so far from being broken up, it was, after the restoration of peace, greatly extended by the establishment

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conversion of the *teachable* and *uncorrupted* natives of the Sandwich (?) and Society Islands; and they have perfectly succeeded in *ruining* their *industrious* habits, *exposing* the country to *external* aggression and *internal* dissension, and *disgusting* all who originally supported them.’ p. 260.

\* Judson’s Account of the American Baptist Mission in Burmah, p. 325.

of new stations, and in 1833 there had been baptized 439 adults, Burmans and Karens.\*

6. Dr. Wiseman brings forward Dr. Brown as a witness to the failure of missions among the American Indians: but not in *propria persona*, as a witness ought to be. He takes an account of his testimony at second-hand, and pretty plainly not a friendly hand. 'The first authority,' says he, 'which I shall quote is that of Brown, author of a History of the Missions among the American Indians, and, in order not to give my own impressions of the results of his work, I will give it in the words of another Protestant writer:—"This history is the record of a series of failures, the less to be expected, because some circumstances seem to point out these nations as peculiarly prepared for the reception of the Gospel."' The writer mentions some of these circumstances, and then adds,—'To such a people, it might have been expected that Christianity would have been a welcome guest; and, indeed, missionaries have, in almost all cases, been kindly received among them, and heard with respect and attention; so that in many places first appearances promised a permanent establishment of Christianity. Without a single exception, however, these appearances have proved fallacious.' This extract he takes from the 'Monthly Review,' and then adds,—'Such is the result of Brown's history of these missions up to the earlier part of the present century.' (p. 190.)

Now on this we have to remark that, though *authenticated* by Dr. Wiseman, this is not a fair statement of the result of Brown's History of these missions. We are ready to admit that missions among the American Indians had generally, up to the time of the publication of that work, failed, to a great extent, as *permanent* missionary establishments; but yet the success of several missionaries, as we shall presently see, was, for the time being, real, and, all circumstances taken into account, somewhat considerable. Why did not the witness who was employed to speak for Brown bring out this fact, which is *so fully and so distinctly brought out by him*? Or, if the 'Monthly' reviewer failed to do so, how came Dr. Wiseman so entirely to authenticate his testimony?

After representing the general failure of the past efforts of Protestants for converting the Indians, he adds, with an appearance of candour,—

'Now, I am willing to acknowledge that within these four or five years there has been, to all appearance, a most important change in this

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\* Proceedings of the Baptist General Convention, 1835, p. 43.

part of the missionary district, in consequence of the work having been undertaken among some of the tribes by half natives, who have had the benefit of English education, while they possessed the confidence of their fellow-countrymen. Among these is the Wesleyan missionary Jones, and it is certain that he has succeeded in bringing a considerable number to the profession of Christianity, probably the *first* instance in which the labours of any Protestant missionary have been successful.'—p. 192.

It appears from this that Dr. Wiseman was either ignorant of, or that he chose to pass *sub silentio*, the labours and success of John Eliot, of the Mayhew family, of Bourne, and Cotton, and others in the seventeenth century; and in the eighteenth century of David Brainerd, Mr. Sergeant, the Moravians, and others whom we might name.

7. In a foot-note, he says,—‘I regret being obliged, from fear of becoming tiresome, to omit the history of attempted conversion in the West Indies, where the series of failures is as remarkable as in the other parts of the world of which I have lately treated.’ (p. 194.)

Now, in opposition to this statement, we have to adduce one broad and palpable fact—namely, that it was the success of missions in the West Indies—the salutary influence they had exerted over the negro population—which encouraged and enabled the British Government to carry through the great Act of Emancipation by which 700,000 slaves were introduced to the rights and privileges of freemen. When Dr. Wiseman delivered his Lectures, the number simply of *communicants* in the different mission churches in the West Indies amounted to about 60,000. The extent of the *congregations* connected with these churches we are not able to state, but there is no question it was very large.

8. He sums up his conclusion in the following words:—‘Such seems to be the result of the missionary system, as hitherto tried *in every case*.’ ‘The result is satisfactory beyond anything—that hitherto the attempts made to preach the gospel to the heathen on the Protestant principle that the Bible alone is sufficient—that there is no other sanction or authority in religion, has, almost without exception, everywhere failed.’ (p. 197.)

In his second Lecture, referring to his first, he says, ‘I showed you how it was *acknowledged* that hitherto *no* success had attended their (*i. e.*, Protestants’) labours; but that in *every* country, in the *East* and the *West*, the preaching of Christianity, with that sanction and upon that basis which their religion required, had *proved abortive*.’ (p. 210.)

Dr. Wiseman originally published his Lectures in 1836;



and if he had been honest in his inquiries, instead of representing Protestant missions as an utter failure, he would have exhibited the following as the number of *communicants* in different missions, according to the then most recent reports of their respective societies:—

Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society . . . . .	37,855 members in society.*
Moravians, or United Brethren . . . . .	15,768 communicants.†
Baptist Missionary Society . . . . .	13,795 ditto.‡
London Missionary Society . . . . .	5,239 ditto.§
Church Missionary Society . . . . .	1,315 ditto.
American Board for Foreign Missions . . . . .	2,047 ditto.¶
American Baptist Board for ditto. . . . .	1,350 ditto.**

These, it is to be noted, are simply the *communicants*. Of the numbers belonging to the congregations, or who were under the instruction of the missionaries, we have nothing like complete returns; but we may state that, while the communicants connected with the Moravian missions amounted to 15,768, the numbers belonging to their congregations, including children, amounted to 48,280.††

It is only fair to Dr. Wiseman to state, that the Reports of the Baptist, London, and Church Societies, from which the preceding numbers are taken, are those for 1836, which it is very possible might not be published in time for him to make use of them. The reports of these societies for 1835 do not furnish the numbers.

It is also proper to state, that the numbers from the Baptist Missionary Society's Report do not include the converts in the East Indies, which were considerable (*i. e.*, for an East India mission), notwithstanding Dr. Wiseman, after long and laborious searching in the dark, could find mention of only *four*. (p. 181—184). They are simply the communicants in the West Indies.

In the preceding list we have not included the black and coloured people, and the Indians who were members of the Methodist churches in the United States of America; but we may mention that, in 1831, the black and coloured people amounted to 71,589, and the Indians to 4501. — Methodist Magazine, 1831, p. 774.

Though we do not attach much importance (far less than we once did) to the returns of the baptized or communicants in

\* Report of Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1835, p. xx.

† Periodical Account of Missions of United Brethren, vol. xiii. p. 300.

‡ Report of Baptist Missionary Society, 1836, p. 17.

§ Report of London Missionary, 1836, p. 121.

|| Proceedings of Church Missionary Society, 1835-6, p. xi.

¶ Report of American Board for Foreign Missions, 1835, p. 110.

\*\* Proceedings of the Baptist General Convention, 1835, p. 51.

†† Periodical Accounts, vol. xiii. p. 300.

connexion with missions as an *index* of their success, yet we may here state, that, since 1835, their numbers have greatly increased in most of the missions, as may be seen by referring to the latest reports.

III. We have seen how dishonestly Dr. Wiseman depreciates the success of Protestant missions. We find him also, on the other hand, exaggerating the amount of instrumentality employed, particularly the pecuniary resources with which they were carried on, which of course places their failure in a stronger and more striking light.

He had not obtained a statement of the income of the Scottish Missionary Society; but he estimated it at £45,000 (p. 167). Now in 1835, the year before these Lectures were preached, the income of that Society was only £4710 1s. 6d., little more than *one-tenth* of the sum put down by him!\*

After stating what he considered the income of the Missionary Societies, he adds,—

‘But, in addition, it would be unjust to overlook the immense assistance afforded to these societies by that which is generally considered the most important and most interesting in this country—the Bible Society. For a great portion of its funds go indirectly to these societies, by furnishing them with copies of the Scriptures—the essential instrument, in their idea, for the accomplishment of their object. The 31st Annual Report (the last published) gives the nett receipts for the year ending March 31, 1835, at £125,721 14s. And from the same Report we learn that the expenditure of the Society, during the thirty-one years of its existence, amounts to £2,121,640 18s. 11d. It appears, moreover, that this Society alone has printed 9,192,950 Bibles or Testaments; to which if we add the issues from other societies in Europe and America, amounting to 6,140,378, we have the enormous aggregate of 15,333,338 copies of Scripture. This statement, in any other age, would have appeared incredible; and if the true way of working conversion be the dispersion of the written Word, surely an abundant harvest might by this time have been expected, for the seed has not been avariciously scattered abroad.’—p. 168.

Now, the statement, that ‘a great portion of the Bible Society’s funds went indirectly to the Missionary Societies, by furnishing them with copies of the Scriptures,’ is calculated to convey a very false and exaggerated idea of the proportion of its funds devoted to missionary purposes among the heathen, who are the class of persons of whose conversion he treats in his Lectures. The great body of its funds was employed in printing editions of the Holy Scriptures in English, French, German, and other European languages, for the use of nations

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\* Report of the Scottish Missionary Society, 1835, p. 56.

called Christian. It was a comparatively small portion of them which was devoted to providing the Scriptures for heathen nations, as he might easily have seen, if he had thought fit to examine the lists of the editions of the Scriptures in the very pages of the Report which he had under his eye. If he had done this, he would have found that of the 9,192,950 Bibles or New Testaments mentioned by him, 6,444,497, or upwards of *two-thirds* of the whole were in the languages of Great Britain and Ireland alone. Of the numbers stated in the list, there were not more than 125,814 copies in the languages of heathen and Mahomedan nations; and a large portion of these were not Bibles or Testaments, but merely single books, or other small portions of Scripture.

Dr. Wiseman, however, has not yet done. He adds,—‘But after we have added the income of this (the Bible) Society to that of the Missionary Associations which I have rehearsed, we shall not have reached the sum total of their resources, in consequence, doubtless, of omissions in the list which I have given you. For the Missionary Register exhibits a table of the progressive increase of income by religious Protestant societies, from 1823 to 1835, in which we see a steady advance from £367,373 to £778,035 per annum, the income of last year.’ (p. 168.)

Though he gives them the general designation of ‘Religious Protestant Societies,’ he must no doubt be held as conveying the idea to his readers, that they are societies engaged in carrying on or promoting missions among heathen nations; otherwise, his bringing them formally forward in this place was altogether irrelevant to the question he was discussing. Now, what is the matter of fact? Why, with the exception of Missionary and Bible Societies, of which he had already spoken, the list consists of Education Societies, the Jewish Society, Seamen’s Societies, Tract and Book Societies, and miscellaneous Societies,—the operations of most of which were directed to home objects, and had little or no connexion with missions among the heathen.\* Yet is this £778,035 brought forward in such a way as to make his readers believe that it constituted resources for the conversion of the heathen by Protestants.

Nor has he even yet done. ‘In this great sum,’ he adds, ‘are not included grants from the government, whether general or local. In India, for instance, is a well-appointed church establishment, of bishops, archdeacons, and chaplains, not left to depend on contingencies, but amply provided for, and able to devote their time and attention to the work of conversion.’

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\* Missionary Register, 1835, p. 531.



(p. 169.) This would of course involve a large expenditure of money. But what has it to do with Protestant missions among the heathen? Wherefore bring it forward in connexion with these, as if it formed part of their resources? The Protestant establishment in India was never intended for the conversion of the natives; it was designed simply for our own countrymen who were in that distant land. The East India Company have, in fact, shown more of hostility than of favour to missions among the Hindus: so far as they were concerned, it has given much more encouragement and support to idolatry than to Protestantism.

IV. We now come to some concluding observations of our author. After stating, as a summary of what he had alleged relative to Protestant missions, that they had, 'almost without exception, everywhere failed,' he adds:—

'There is yet another point to be examined. In spite of what I have said, we meet constantly, in the Reports of the Societies, an account of many persons being converted. Now I have not been able to help noting certain criterions of *great importance* in estimating the characters of the conversions so stated.

'In the first place, you must not allow yourselves to be led away by these Reports, which speak of the immense number of copies of the Bible and the New Testament distributed among the natives of heathen countries—you must not suppose that this gives any evidence of conversion—nor that because missionaries ask for innumerable quantities of Bibles, anything like a proportionate number of conversions take place. For these Bibles are sent out in cargoes and accumulated in warehouses abroad, or distributed to persons who make no use of them at all, or make them serve any purpose, as you will see by a few examples which I will give you just now. General Hislop, in his 'History of the Campaign against the Mahrattas and Pindarris,' says that "these missionaries think that this distribution of the Gospels in Chinese, Sanscrit, &c., is sufficient to obtain their purpose; and as they send out these books to English agents and magistrates, in different places, *so they reckon the number of their converts and the success of their labours in proportion to the copies distributed.*"'

He then gives some statements on the authority of General Hislop as to the profuse distribution which was made of Bibles; but as this is not a point which we are disposed to dispute, we omit them for the sake of brevity, more especially as statements to the same effect immediately follow.

'I have also seen a letter,' continues Dr. W., 'and will quote it, although it is from a Catholic authority, written a few years ago by the Vicar Apostolic of Siam, who relates precisely the same circumstance—"That two English emissaries had arrived, and were distributing Bibles in every direction; the people used them to wrap

up their merchandise in the shops; some of them, however, brought them to the Catholic clergy as of no use." He then remarks: "In this way reports are sent over, and *the number of converts are reckoned by the number of Bibles distributed*. I know that not a single conversion has been made by them."—p. 198.

We have printed in italics the allegations to which we wish to draw the special attention of our readers. Dr. Wiseman does not himself state that Protestant Societies or missionaries reckoned the number of converts by the number of Bibles distributed; but it is plain he wished his readers to suppose or believe that this was the case. He introduces his remarks by 'noting' them as 'criteria of great importance;' he quotes two separate authorities to this effect, the one a general in the army, the other a Roman-catholic vicar-apostolic, or bishop—both, no doubt, very high authorities.

Having given us these statements he closes his argument on the subject in the following words:—'These are a few out of many examples to show how very fallacious it is to judge of the extent of conversion, or of the propagation of Christianity, by the returns of the distribution of Bibles among the natives of heathen countries.' (p. 201.)

No one can doubt, after all this, that he meant to convey to his hearers the impression that Protestants reckoned the number of their converts from among heathen nations by the number, or something like the number, of Bibles distributed among them; and in doing so we charge him with *a most gross attempt* to mislead them. He professes to have read somewhat extensively the reports and other accounts of the efforts of Protestants for the conversion of the heathen; and no one who reads his Lecture on the subject can doubt for a moment that if he had met with even *one* statement to this effect, in either the reports of societies or the letters of missionaries, he would have triumphantly proclaimed it: and well he might; for if he could have made out his position, he would have given Bible and Missionary Societies a blow such as they have not received from all their other enemies put together.

Dr. Wiseman 'notes' other two 'criteria of great importance in estimating the character of the conversions' by Protestants:—'Another fallacious rule is the number of scholars and schools. Missionaries constantly write that all their congregation consists of their schools,' &c. (p. 202.) . . . 'Another false criterion is to suppose that, because large congregations assemble to hear sermons, they are become Christian,' &c. (p. 204.)

We are not able to see the 'great importance' of either of these criteria; because Protestants never gave it out that the scholars in their schools, or the congregations which hear their

addresses, have become Christians, and our lecturer's hearers were in no danger of supposing that attending the school or listening to a sermon implied conversion to the Protestant faith. But of course he had an object in view in 'noting' them, and the only object, we can see, he could have, was to lead his hearers to suppose that Protestants did employ such 'fallacious rules' and such 'false criterions' 'in estimating the character of the conversions.'

There are numerous other misstatements in this Lecture which we could have wished to notice, but our limits will not permit us.

Having made these observations on the Lecture on Protestant missions, we now proceed to consider that on Roman-catholic missions. We shall not, however, enter into an examination of his details in regard to them, as we think this is rendered unnecessary by some considerations which we proceed to mention.

The first is, that we have no faith in the accounts given by Roman-catholic missionaries. This will no doubt appear a very summary and a very sweeping observation, and we shall probably be set down as illiberal and narrow-minded bigots. Well, so be it; yet we may be allowed to quote the following authority for our opinion:—

'It seems,' says Monsignor Cerri, Secretary of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, in a Report which he gave of 'the State of the Roman-catholic Religion throughout the World,' to Pope Innocent XI., in the latter part of the 17th century, 'It seems to be the constant opinion of *all* the members of the Congregation, that *little credit* is to be given to the Relations, Letters, and Solicitations, that come from the missionaries. Hence it is that *the usual answer* of the Congregation consists *only in asking further information; which often proves of no use*. For besides the time lost in expecting a reply from the missionaries, they frequently send back the same informations, without giving a new light into the matter. I add that the *nuncios* and *other persons* receiving those informations from the parties concerned, are *not able to give a better account of things* than what the Congregation had before. These inconveniences have often moved that Society to send visitors into the missions, who being *disinterested* and *impartial* men, have given a true relation of the state of these missions; by which means several disorders have been effectually removed. Give me leave, Most Holy Father, to represent to your Holiness that this remedy is *now more necessary than ever in many provinces and kingdoms*, as I have intimated in several parts of this discourse.'\*

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\* An Account of the State of the Roman-catholic Religion throughout the World: Written for the Use of POPE INNOCENT XI. by Monsignor CERRI, Secretary of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. Now first translated



After this remarkable testimony we may be excused from giving credit to the relations and letters that come from the Romish missionaries.

This statement refers, no doubt, to the missionaries of a former age; but we have no reason for believing that those of the present day are more truthful than their predecessors. The '*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*,' of which, in 1846, no fewer than 178,800 copies were printed in the chief languages of Europe, is now the official and great authority in regard to Catholic missions; and the letters of the missionaries published in that work are remarkably characterized by declamatory sentimentalism, by vague gasconade, by a constant studying of effect, and at times by things so incredible that though we may value the work as a record of what Romish missionaries say of their labours and successes, we set no value on it as a record of truth.

As an example of the incredible things which the Romish missionaries relate in their letters, we may give the following account of the Methodists in the Friendly Islands. In a letter, dated Tongataboo, July 1st, 1843, the Rev. Jerome Grange, Missionary-Apostolic of the Society of Mary, writes: 'The Protestants have been in possession of the island for more than twenty years. We cannot deny they have many natives on their side. If they have come to announce Jesus Christ to these people, they have at least preached after the manner of Mahomet; and if they have effected conversions, it is with the sword. In effect, it would not be believed in Europe with what severity the Protestants treat their neophytes. It is not sufficient to forbid them all amusements; arbitrary fasts are imposed on them, and they are subjected to public penance. Hard labour follows the smallest infringement of indifferent practices. It is not rare to see a poor Kanack tied to a tree, and beaten until he falls under the blows, and all this for having merely smoked a pipe.'—'*Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*,' vol. vi. p. 10.

In a letter dated Tongataboo, 24th June, 1843, another missionary, the Rev. Mr. Chevron, says:—'Thanks be to God, I think the domination of the ministers in this country has received a mortal blow, and that they will soon be obliged to yield to the power of Mary, in the name of whom we have taken spiritual possession of Tonga. I shall not speak to you of the cruel penances that they imposed on sinners before our arrival. We still see every day the traces of their barbarities: teeth broken with blows of the fists, blackened eyes, large and

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from an Authentic Italian MS. never published. With a large Dedication to the present Pope, &c. By Sir Richard Steele. London. 1715. p. 182.

numerous scars will for a long while bear witness to the mild moral code of the Protestants.'—lb. vi. p. 18.

In the second place, we have no confidence in the character of Roman-catholic missions. We do not mean to enter into a full examination of their character. We shall merely present our readers with a few facts illustrative of their nature.

1. The following extract of a letter from the Rev. M. Pichon, Missionary Apostolic, on his way to China, dated Straits of Sunda, August 26th, 1845, will show the ideas entertained by him of very frivolous outward forms and ceremonies:—

'Shall I attempt to give you certain little details on the aspect of the islands of Sumatra and Java, where the earth produces of itself, and as it were without cultivation, this multitude of fruits, plants, and enormous trees of every kind, which do not allow you to discover the colour of the soil, so rich and abundant is the vegetation. Oh! that I could depict to you, above all, these poor Malays, who are still more than three-fourth savages, and entirely strangers to what regards the knowledge indispensable to the salvation of their souls. How sad is this! If you knew how this makes the heart bleed! During two days, that they came almost continually to our vessel, we knew not how to turn away from looking at these simple and kind faces, although evidently degenerated. We would certainly have wished to have them for a longer time with us, and to be able to make ourselves better understood by them, in order to cast into their souls a few germs at least of the holy word! We indemnified ourselves in some measure by suspending to their necks medals of the Immaculate Conception, which were received with demonstrations of joy that it is impossible to describe. We made a sign to them that they should wear them with respect, and we saw with pleasure that some of them kissed them after us, without probably knowing what they did. But it matters not. We liked to think that our good Mother, to whose heart we interiorly committed them, will vouchsafe, sooner or later, perhaps, to take into account this act of veneration, although purely mechanical, and it will always be true to say, that the name and image of Mary shall have in some manner taken possession of these infidel lands; that this name and image will remain there, at least engraved upon brass, whilst awaiting until the Divine Master shall raise up evangelical labourers in order to engrave them in a more real and efficacious manner on the hearts of these poor people.'\*

Such was the use to which our missionary put his medals of the Immaculate Conception as he passed the Straits of Sunda! We presume he carried a stock of them with him to be applied to equally wise and pious purposes after his arrival in China.

2. It is no doubt known to most of our readers that Roman-catholic missionaries are in the habit of baptizing dying

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\* Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, vol. vii. p. 68.

children, with the view of thereby securing their salvation. To what an extent the practice is carried in heathen countries will appear by a few extracts from the 'Annals of the Propagation of the Faith:—

'For a long time,' say the editors of that work, 'it was not possible to regenerate in the waters of baptism the children of infidels only in some isolated places; the number of those who went from the cradle to the grave with the seal of baptism was still small; and for this reason, we have seldom made mention of it to the pious readers of our Annals. But of latter years, this benefit has been extended in a most consolatory degree. Our missionaries, with the assistance of the alms of the Association, have succeeded in rendering it general among the principal congregations of Asia. We shall soon have much to do to reckon the young elect, with which they ever people heaven; even now the account of those whom they have sent there is sufficiently large to draw forth the gratitude and the admiration of our faith. And accordingly we offer it to our associates with a religious eagerness. It will consist of figures only, but figures are very affecting when they express a multitude of souls gained for the happiness of heaven.'—*'Annals,'* vol. vi. p. 322.

*China.*—His Lordship, Dr. Perocheau, Vicar-Apostolic of Su-Tchuen, one of the provinces of China, thus writes:—

'The mission of Su-Tchuen continues its work of baptizing children in danger of death, and the Lord continues to bless it. Each year the number of those whom they regenerate goes on increasing.

It was in 1839 . . . . .	12,483
1840 . . . . .	15,766
1841 . . . . .	17,825
1842 . . . . .	20,068
1843 . . . . .	22,292
This year it amounts to . . . . .	24,381

'We have remarked that about two-thirds of the number of these children died in the year in which they were baptized. Thus, out of the number of 1844, 16,763 winged their flight a short time afterwards to everlasting bliss. These happy souls thus regenerated by us in the saving waters of baptism,—Can they forget us? Can they lose the remembrance of that generous Association which, under God, has opened to them the gates of heaven?

'We pay some Christians, men and women, who are acquainted with the complaints of infants, to go, seek out, and baptize those whom they shall find to be in danger. It is easy for them to meet them, particularly in the towns and large villages, where, on fair-days, there is to be seen a crowd of poor people, reduced to the greatest poverty, who come to ask for alms. It is in winter especially that the number is highest, because want is more pinching at that time. You see then on the roads, at the gates of the towns and villages, or crowded together in the streets, poor people without number, with hardly any clothing, having neither fire nor lodging, sleeping in the open air, and



so extenuated by the protracted torture of hunger, that they are nothing but skin and bone. The women, who are in this case the most to be pitied, carry on their back children reduced to the same extremity as themselves. Our baptizing men and baptizing women accost them in the gentle accents of compassion, offer them gratis pills for these little expiring creatures, give often to the parents a few farthings, always with great kindness of manner, and an expression of the liveliest interest in their situation.

‘For these poor creatures it is a sight of transport almost unheard of. They willingly allow our people to examine into the state of the child, and spill on its forehead some drops of water, which they declare to be good for it, while at the same time they pronounce the sacramental words.

‘Our Christian baptizers are divided into two classes. Some are travellers, and go to a great distance to look for dying children. Others, being attached to certain stations in the towns and large villages, devote themselves to the same occupation in their neighbourhood. I have just caused to be printed some explicit rules, to direct them and stimulate them in the exercise of their noble functions.

‘The men form a Special Association, which is called the Angelical Association. Every year, by word of mouth or by writing, I exhort all the priests to spread wider and wider the society in which I take a great interest.’—‘Annals,’ vol. vi. p. 324.

Thus the affair is reduced to system, at least in the province of Su-Tchuen. Mighty as are its results, the mysterious influence of Apostolical succession is not necessary to its success. Even *women*, young and old, who, we never understood, had any pretensions to descent from the apostles, can open the gates of paradise, equally well as Peter or any of his successors, be he pope, cardinal, archbishop, bishop, or priest. Thus, according to mother church herself, Apostolical succession is not necessary to the *efficacy* of the sacraments, at least, not to that of baptism, and she thus administers a rebuke to the pride and arrogance of the Puseyite and other ministers of the Church of England, who plume themselves on being the successors of the apostles, and seek to magnify themselves and to sanctify their priesthood as if it were only through such persons that the virtue of the sacraments was conveyed. But though apostolical succession is no way necessary to success, yet as we have already seen, *artifice* and *trick* are often very useful. Of this we shall give some other examples.

*Cochin China*.—The Rev. Mr. Fontaine, Missionary Apostolic, writes:—

‘You will receive with pleasure some particulars concerning one of our works,—little in appearance, but productive of great results for the salvation of souls: I allude to the pagan children baptized on the point of death. Every one can take part in it; but we may

say that it is principally the business of the women: they can more easily get into the houses, and people are less on their guard against them than against men. Through their charitable cares a considerable number of these little creatures have hardly received life before they exchange it for the un-ending joys of paradise.

‘In a village, of which the mayor is a Christian, there exists a house of nuns, whom his lordship sends out in different directions to look for these hapless children. They go generally two by two, an *old* and a *young* one; and while the elder one enters into conversation, the other, who, in good manners, should leave her to speak, draws near the mother, who is holding the sick child, or sits down near the mat on which it is left; she fondles it, takes it in her arms, and while she caresses it, she succeeds in dropping on its forehead a little water out of a bottle, which she keeps concealed in her long white sleeve. In the course of last year, these nuns baptized one hundred and forty-five; and in the course of about a month of the present, they have reached the number of ninety-six.’—‘Annals,’ vol. vi. p. 328.

*New Zealand.*—The Rev. Father Petit-Jean, Missionary-Apostolic in New Zealand, thus writes:—

‘At all hours, I traverse the rivers and the sea to repair to my Neophytes. During one of these voyages, I learned that a little child was dying. I immediately mounted the canoe of the natives to go to save the soul in danger. I was, no doubt, well received by the tribe, which says our prayer with zeal, although it has not yet actively abjured its superstitions; but the father refused to confide to me his child, under the pretext that if she were baptized, she would expire the same day, and that at her death he could not bewail her after the fashion of the Mahoris. I said to him all that zeal inspired me; but all was in vain. My efforts being unsuccessful. I vowed the infant to Mary; I recommended it to the holy angels, and I had the happiness of opening heaven to it. Here is how I succeeded. Food was prepared for me, and I civilly refused it. “I cannot eat,” said I to my hosts; “my heart is sad, on account of this infant, which will not see the Great Spirit.” The rain had just fallen; I perceived a leaf that contained sufficient water for baptism; I took it and said to the father, “Baptism is not a thing to be dreaded; this is the way I would proceed, if you let me act,” and I then administered the sacrament. The father did not become irritated; and now the infant is an angel in heaven, praying for the mission, and for the pious members of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith.’—‘Annals,’ vol. vi. p. 296.

*Wallis Island.*—Father Bataillon, who was afterwards appointed Bishop of Enos, and Vicar-Apostolic of Central Oceania, writes:—

‘I have had the consolation to administer in secret the sacrament of baptism to two young Oceanians, at the moment of death. They

are gone to heaven to swell the number of the protecting angels of Wallis Island.'

In a subsequent letter he tells us how he managed to make these protecting angels.

'In order,' says he, 'to avoid any difficulty, when I wish to baptize children, even under the eyes of their mother, this is the way I manage: I have always about me one little phial of scented water, and a second with pure water. I throw at first some drops of scented water on the head of the child, under pretence of giving it ease, and while the pleased mother rubs it gently over with her hand, I change the phial, and pour on the regenerating water, without her having any suspicion of what I have done.'

Thus do the good fathers people heaven by *pious frauds*. The practice is not confined to some solitary mission, nor yet to what might be considered as the antiquated missions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as those of China and Cochin China; it is a practice common to their missions, and is introduced into those most lately established,—those, for example, in the South Sea Islands. The practice is not simply approved; it is applauded and extolled in the official publication of their great missionary institution, the Association for the Propagation of the Faith.

3. To show the success of the Roman-catholic missions, Dr. Wiseman gives us estimates of the numbers connected with their missions in India, Ceylon, China, and other countries. As to the correctness of his numbers, we do not think it worth while to inquire; they may be true or false for us—we make no account of them; though, if we were to express an opinion, it would be that no dependence is to be placed upon them. It is as easy to put down 100,000 as 50,000, and it may often be more desirable, while there is, perhaps, as good evidence for the one number as the other. Conversion to Popery is not conversion to Christianity. It no doubt assumes the name of Christianity, and it holds some of its principles; but, as a whole, it is a gross perversion—a monstrous corruption of it—more base than the basest coin that was ever put into circulation in any land. It may well be called 'THE MOTHER OF ABOMINATIONS; THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY.' Converts to such a system—of what value are they? But even of the converts, few probably have much understanding of its nature. They may learn to count their beads—to say their Ave Marias—to chant their prayers in an unknown tongue—to perform their genuflexions, and to go through other superstitious mummeries, while their understandings are about as darkened and their hearts as unsanctified as those of the heathen around them.



4. Dr. W. refers, apparently with special interest, to the confessors and martyrs from among the missionaries and the native priests and other converts in some of the missions, particularly those of China, Tonkin, and Cochin China. What truth there is in the accounts published of the persecutions of the Roman Catholics in these and other countries, we do not know. We have little doubt, however, they are much exaggerated. But be this as it may, persecution, even though endured with patience and magnanimity, will prove nothing as to the truth or excellence of the Romish faith. Error has had its confessors as well as truth; false religion its martyrs, as well as the true. What will Dr. Wiseman say to the confessors and martyrs of the Reformed Churches, who were thrown into the dungeons of the Inquisition, condemned to the galleys, or burned at the stake?

5. As some further illustration of the character of Roman-catholic missions, we beg to draw the attention of our readers to the motives by which the 'faithful' are called upon to support them. The following is an extract from a statement which appeared regularly on the cover of the numbers of the 'Annals of the Propagation of the Faith:—'The Institution for the Propagation of the Faith, has solely for its object to assist by prayers and alms the Catholic Missionaries, who are charged to preach the Gospel to foreign nations. The prayers are a *Pater* and *Ave* each day. It will suffice to say for this purpose, once for all, the *Pater* and *Ave* of our daily morning or evening prayer; and to add the following invocation: "*Saint Francis Xavier, pray for us.*" The alms is only one halfpenny per week,' &c.

'The Institution for the Propagation of the Faith has, from its first foundation, been highly favoured and warmly recommended to the faithful by the Holy See. The Sovereign Pontiffs Pius VII., Leo XI., Pius VIII., and Gregory XVI., by their Rescripts, have granted to all the members of the Institution the following indulgences, applicable to the souls in purgatory:—

'1st. A plenary indulgence on the Festival of finding the Holy Cross,—the anniversary of the first establishment of the Institution at Lyons in the year 1822; on the Festival of Saint Francis Xavier, patron of the Institution; and once a month, on any day at the choice of each subscriber—provided he says every day within the month the appointed prayers. To gain the indulgence he must be truly sorry for his sins, go to confession, receive the holy communion, and visit devoutly the church or oratory of the Institution, if it has one; and if not, his parent church or chapel, and there offer his prayers for the prosperity of the church, and for the intuition of the sovereign

pontiff. In case of sickness in a family, subscribers are dispensed from the visit to the parish church, provided they fulfil to the best of their power, and with the advice of their confessor, the other necessary conditions. Where the Institution is not yet established, a visit to any church or chapel will suffice.

‘2nd. An indulgence of a hundred days each time that the prescribed prayers, with at least a contrite heart, will be repeated, or a donation made to the missions, or any other pious or charitable work performed.’

These indulgences, it will be remarked, are granted by the authority of successive sovereign pontiffs. The following extract is from ‘The Lenten Pastoral of the Right Rev. Dr. Brown for 1844, Vicar-Apostolic of Wales,’ now one of the lately created bishops :—

‘Now, by the communion of saints, you beloved children who subscribe to the funds of the Association your weekly halfpenny, and offer the short prescribed prayers with a contrite heart, become participators in all these illustrious works, so acceptable to God, whose honour and glory they highly promote; so full of rich blessings to existing multitudes and unborn generations of your neighbours whose ‘love is the fulfilling of the law;’ so satisfactory for your sins, and meritorious before him who rewards with transcendent recompence even a cup of cold water given for his sake. Your weekly halfpenny and few prayers procure for your weakness and sloth a share in the merits of indefatigable missionaries—in the glowing zeal and holy living of their fervent converts—in the lively faith of so many unshaken confessors—in the sacrifices of their blood and lives of so many triumphant martyrs. For you their pure hands are raised to their Heavenly Father—for you their earnest petitions ascend to the throne of mercy—for by you tens of thousands are enlightened and saved, who were sitting in darkness, and in the shadow of death. Oh! if you shrink from the sight of your manifold wickedness, seek through such powerful intercessors for the graces of repentance, forgiveness and perseverance,—if you cannot fast, substitute these efficacious satisfactions,—if you fear God, appease him thereby,—if you love him, be thus instruments whereby so many others may know, love, and honour him upon earth, and possess him with yourselves in happiness through all eternity. Mere gratitude to the Association for the allowance made to this district would require that we earnestly press all of you to become members thereof; but far beyond that motive is our solicitude for your eternal interests. Is there amongst you one who fears the anger of God, or loves his perfections, and values his own immortal soul; and who can hesitate between a weekly halfpenny and the glorious results of a contribution so trifling to most of you, the value whereof before God will be increased, even by the difficulty which it may cost some very small portion of our beloved children?’—‘Annals,’ vol. v. p. 66.

Before concluding, we shall only further remark that we

did not in the commencement of this article enter into any examination of the principle laid down, that the success or the failure of the missionary efforts of a church is a criterion of its being, or not being, a true church. Such a principle we could not admit without explanations and modifications. But yet, in now coming to a close, we may remark that, tried even by this test, it would not be easy to prove that Protestant churches are not true churches, for the success of their missions has not been inconsiderable; nor, on the other hand, that the Church of Rome is the true church, for the success of its missions is not of a kind which would warrant any such verdict in its favour.

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ART. II.—*A Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece.* By William Mure, of Caldwell. Vol. IV. London: Longman and Co. 1853.

ALL progressive development in schools and nations is said to go on by antagonist forces; perhaps then so vehement, vigorous, and fully furnished an intellect as Mr. Grote needs an antagonistic influence to enable him to achieve for us his fullest service; and, in fact, Mr. Mure seems consciously to have assumed for himself this function. Even where he does not name his adversary, we feel a pugnacious spirit pervading his remarks, and cannot doubt that to undermine or destroy the Grotean hypotheses (as he might call them) is a never-forgotten purpose. Happily Mr. Grote may welcome Mr. Mure as a very learned antagonist. The differences between the two men lie deep in their intellectual natures, and yet (strange, and in some sense provoking as it is) the contrasts of result, after all, are often microscopic. They state their general propositions differently, where the deductions in detail appear to be the same. Mure seems to profess himself a strong opposer of the 'sceptical' school; but he turns out occasionally a very strong sceptic himself, and even an innovator. On the whole, we find ourselves wearied with fictitious combats; but now and then we alight on a few points of real interest. For Mr. Mure, besides being erudite, and a searcher into fundamental questions, has also much freshness of mind; and in so far, he is likely to make some contributions to a subject which seemed to be exhausted.

At first sight, his field of investigation is different from Grote's. The latter writes on history, the former on language and literature. But inasmuch as the history is elicited out of



the literature, is judged of by critical argumentations, and has suggested to Mr. Grote the necessity of very ample digressions into minute criticism in his elaborate notes, the two writers have really a large margin of ground in common.

Our original impression, derived from the three first volumes, was, that Mure's discussions were on far too ample a scale, especially considering how very much has already been written, and ably written, upon his subject. The new volume entirely confirms us in this judgment; and yet it supplies an explanation of the method pursued. In truth, a very large part of the book consists in disquisitions concerning poets or early prose-writers whose works have perished; and of necessity these must be very dry, and sadly unimpressive to the reader's imagination. A treatise concerning a lost literature degenerates into a book of reference, whatever the erudition or the talents of the writer. Hence, in one who is forced to drudge wearily from Acusilaus to Xanthus, from Xanthus to Hippys, Democles, and Herodorus, it is venial to rejoice, when at last he alights on Herodotus, and to expatiate freely in his more delightful subject, telling us a hundred things which had been equally well said before. Nevertheless, while we concede this to be an *excuse* for dedicating 278 pages to Herodotus, we fall back on our original conviction, that this is not the way to produce a classical work. Let any one read Hallam on the Literature of Europe, and he will see a model of pregnant brevity, which does not exclude saying all that needs to be said even of writers like Hooker, and Shakspeare, and Bacon. By adopting so very amplified a form, Mr. Mure takes pains to secure that his book shall merely be a quarry from which a few fine blocks will be hewed out by others.

Herodotus has full half of this goodly-sized volume; and to this part of Mr. Mure's work we first pay attention. When we ask ourselves what we have learned from the discussion, it is hard to return a satisfactory answer. Mure is of opinion that the charms of this writer's style, and the childlike sweetness of his mind, have seduced many modern critics into too high an estimate of his intellect, and that, in fact, he was decidedly credulous concerning religious legends, far too fond of a striking story, and apt to be misled by antithesis and hyperbole. All these things have been regarded by us as *universally admitted axioms* since our schoolboy days; and in reading Mr. Mure's pages, we desire to learn *who* are the critics that need to be set right. We turn naturally to Karl Müller's treatise, so accessible to every English student; and we find him to write (p. 272) that Herodotus 'is a theologian and a poet, as well as an historian. . . . His mind is turned to the extraordinary and

the marvellous. . . . It were vain to deny that he was often deceived by the misrepresentations of priests, interpreters, and guides; yet, without his single-hearted simplicity. . . . he would never have imparted to us many valuable accounts, in which recent inquirers have discovered substantial truth, though mixed with fable. . . . It cannot be denied, that he has sometimes attributed to eastern princes ideas which were essentially Greek. . . . It would be more just to reproach him with a want of that political discernment, *which had been already awakened among Athenian statesmen, &c. &c.*' Altogether, we cannot find anything on this side of the subject, in which Mure could desire to set Müller right. We turn to Kenrick's Herodotus, and again meet a frank declaration (p. xxx.) that this delightful author '*fell below the standard of his age in natural philosophy. . . . He loved a striking story, showing himself in this respect a man of the people.*' Kenrick proceeds to illustrate how this tendency leads him unintentionally to distort truth. In p. xxxv. he writes: 'Though we may boldly maintain that Herodotus never designedly misrepresented, *we must not exaggerate his credibility.*' . . . . 'The just method of estimating the value of his work, is to consider it as a picture of the age in which he lived, *with its superstitions and prejudices, &c. &c.* . . . . [In regard to speeches] the historian considered it as a legitimate exertion of his art to supply the deficiency which would have impaired the interest of his narrative; and unless there be some special ground of credibility, *we are not required to place greater faith in them, than in the speeches of the Iliad.*'

After this, let us listen to Mure,—

'The charge of credulity is one, the abstract validity of which even his most ardent admirers have rarely, if ever, ventured to deny. It is one, however, which they have generally exerted themselves to evade, by palliating, explaining away, or even justifying the defect imputed. . . . Herodotus was contemporaneous with Pericles and Anaxagoras, with Thucydides and Aristophanes. . . . The comparative freedom of these four remarkable men from the petty superstitions and prejudices which exercised so powerful a sway on the mind of Herodotus, abundantly shows that the term *Spirit of the Age*, as here employed by his apologists, must be restricted to the vulgar or popular spirit. . . . [yet] it may be truly said that the historian was *the ennobled type of the vulgar or popular genius of Hellenism.* . . . It is only by a right appreciation of these peculiarities of the historian's genius, that we can do justice either to himself or to his work. Such, however, it is to be feared, is not the mode in which he has been usually judged by his modern commentators. *Their treatises are for the most part little more than eulogies qualified by a few gentle strictures insufficient to maintain even the semblance of critical impartiality.*

Dazzled by, &c. &c. . . . they are led to place his work and himself . . . . . on the same level with that occupied by Thucydides, &c.'—p. 352.

Mr. Mure does not tell us from whom he three times quotes the phrase 'spirit of the age.' We suspect it is from Grote's 'Greece,' but in so long a work without an index we are unable to discover it. But his statement is not, that *one* eminent historian overrates Herodotus, but that modern commentators *in general* do so. The reader will judge whether there is any appreciable difference between Müller and Kenrick on the one side, and Mure on the other: we can find none. Nor do we find so much as one *event* in Herodotus which is believed by his 'partial commentators,' and disbelieved by Mure: if there is any, we have overlooked it. Yet he goes on elaborately to prove that Herodotus believes many frivolous things, and thinks it worth while to argue him down in thirty-six continuous pages. We will here only remark, that Mure appears to us in some of his details to carry his incredulity too far; as, when he adduces the names *Croph*i and *Moph*i, in proof of the absurdity of a story told to Herodotus:—'There is an obvious analogy between these names and those of Gog and Magog, &c. &c.' (p. 387.) Surely every one who is acquainted with an inflected language ought to expect rhyming terminations. Such words as *Natio*, *Statio*, *Ratio*, or even Medinsky and Krasinsky, Huz and Buz, might be pronounced to be evidently jocose inventions, by the same logic as condemns *Moph*i and *Croph*i. The termination *phi* is possibly the Egyptian definite article, and had nothing in it which deserved to excite Herodotus's suspicion. But on other grounds which he does not tell us (perhaps something in the scribe's manner), he did suspect that the man was deluding him. Of this he informs us; yet lays before us his account, as something which *may* after all possibly be true. It contains nothing which ought to have been rejected as incredible; and so far from regarding this part of the narrative as disparaging to Herodotus, it enhances our sense of his careful discrimination between testimony and his own interpretation of the testimony. Presently after, Mr. Mure writes as follows:—

'The translation, supplied to Herodotus, of the inscription on one of the larger pyramids, represented it as recording the quantity of onions, leeks and radishes consumed by the labourers employed in the erection of the monument. Were a foreigner, ignorant of the English tongue, to ask the meaning of the inscription on the London Monument of some humourist of Fish-street Hill, the answer might probably be, that it recorded the number of quarts of porter and pipes of tobacco, consumed by the builders of the column: but it is not likely that he would put faith in the statement. Herodotus, how-



ever, seems, in the parallel case, to have believed his informants, &c.'—p. 388.

The criticism does not strike us as at all discriminating. When Mohammed Ali in recent memory undertook to dig a canal at Alexandria, he compelled the miserable people to perform the work, and gave them neither wages nor tools, but only certain scanty food. If it had been a pyramid instead of a canal, and if he had desired to record the sum which it cost him, he might have engraved the quantity of leeks and garlic supplied to his labourers. To compare the case of English workmen, who are accustomed to receive money-wages, is anything but instructive. The 'parallel case' would have been, if the Fish-street Hill humourist had told the foreigner that the inscription recorded how many *pounds, shillings, and pence* had been paid as wages to the labourers who erected the Monument. It might then have seemed to the foreigner rather odd to record nothing else than this; but he surely would not deserve to be derided as *silly* for believing it. We feel little doubt that Mure is right in thinking that persons of low wit did sometimes delight to mislead our simple-minded Herodotus: but one who remembers the complaint of Thucydides, that in the seditions of Greece 'simplicity (εὐήθεια) which enters so largely into nobleness of mind, was laughed down and disappeared,' might rather feel sympathy and admiration for this quality in Herodotus, than something approaching to contempt.

Mure continues his proofs of Herodotus's exaggerating as to the army of Xerxes, with so anxious an argumentativeness, that it is evident he is refuting *somebody*. A note at last (p. 403) gives a hint that it is Mr. Grote. 'Mr. Grote has here made a charitable, but not very successful, attempt to save the credit of Herodotus, by assuming the phrase θηριωδεστάτης θαλάσσης to refer to the wild beasts of the Thracian forests; an interpretation which will hardly find favour with the more critical portion of the historian's commentators.' ('Hist. Greece,' vol. iv. p. 422.)

Thus we get a glimpse of the adversary; but the combat is really a very trifling one as a basis for so serious a charge on Mr. Grote, as, that he is *an uncritical commentator on Herodotus*; we must add, such a phrase towards such a man seems to us highly unbecoming from Mr. Mure, and in no respect justified by anything which he has adduced. In our own opinion, Mure is here correct, and Grote has strained the meaning of the Greek word needlessly. We believe that Herodotus meant to say that beasts of the sea devoured many of the shipwrecked sailors; Grote interprets it to be wild beasts from the shore:—the 'forests' are Mr. Mure's addition. We see nothing to wonder at, nothing to reprove, nothing to explain away, in the

idea that Herodotus supposed dangerous animals to abound in the sea,—whether sharks, or grampuses, or carnivorous seals. To call Herodotus credulous on such grounds seems to us absurd; equally so to call Grote uncritical for having tried to attain probable fact, where the meaning of an epithet seemed to him doubtful. The jaguar of South America lives on the banks of rivers, and fishes in the water: was it quite impossible for a Greek to call such rivers *θηριώδεις*, because infested by jaguars? Mr. Grote understands the sea near Mount Athos to have been for a similar reason called *θηριώδης*: to us this seems a needless refinement, yet certainly not deserving to be dogmatically put down, and adduced as an eminent instance of uncritical proceeding.

In the same spirit, a few lines above, Mr. Mure produces, as a proof of Herodotus's love of exaggeration, that he states Xerxes's army to have been assailed in Thrace by *lions*; 'an animal never assuredly indigenous in that region; and the creatures alluded to, if not altogether fictitious, may safely be classed as some species of mountain lynx or wild cat, which the legend had magnified into lions for the occasion.' To prove a negative is proverbially difficult, even when knowledge has become exhaustive. Suppose that in this nineteenth century it is at length proved that there neither *are* nor *ever were* lions in Thrace—(how this is proved we know not. England once had wolves. North Africa once had elephants, and the Egyptian Nile hippopotami. Nay, Egypt, Palestine, Syria once had lions in plenty; now, they have disappeared. But suppose Mure is right in his enunciation, 'assuredly never:' still we ask,) how was Herodotus to know that? In truth, it is often hard to fix the words of barbarous dialects concerning the species of animals alike in genus. We have seen different vocabularies of the same African language, in which the same word is alternately rendered *lion* and *tiger*, whether through want of discrimination on the part of natives, or mistake on the part of travellers. On the whole, we find that Mure has a full general agreement with us all, that Herodotus is half poet, half historian; and he does but over illustrate a conceded principle, whenever he tries to raise something new out of so thoroughly worked a field.

Mr. Mure's remarks on the dialect of Herodotus strike us as characterized by good sense. The alternate changes of spelling by successive modern editors seem to us very ridiculous. But again, there is nothing new here. Mr. Long, in his edition of 'Herodotus,' pointed out the absurdity of Gaisford's systematic reversal of Schweighæuser's spelling; and Kenrick has written (p. lxiii): '*It seems now to be admitted, that we are not*

arbitrarily to correct the text in order to introduce a systematic Ionism; and that in general MS. authority must decide. It is not probable that a writer who was so long engaged on his task as Herodotus, and who had lived where almost every variety of Greek was spoken, should preserve a perfect uniformity, in an age when typography did not exist to furnish a standard. Who watches his own pen so carefully, as to be sure that it never varies between *honour* and *honor*, *cypher* and *cipher*?' We believe this is substantially Mure's view, in his protest against Dindorf and Bredow, who are, once more, bent on a Procrustean system. Mr. Mure does refer to Kenrick (p. 266), in company with Bähr, Heyse, and Krüger, but only to censure them; and the ground of his difference from them is curious, as bearing upon Mure's Homeric arguments. He has been stating the reasons, which, at least since Dahlmann wrote, have induced commentators to reject the old story that Herodotus recited his history at Olympia.

'It is somewhat surprising, in this age of rational scepticism, when truth itself has often difficulty in emerging unscathed from the severe tests of critical alchemy to which it is daily subjected, to find so many intelligent commentators still insist in maintaining that a mass of parts, all or most of which are acknowledged by themselves to be individually false, should yet as a whole be substantially true. Their argument is much to the subjoined effect: "Granting the Olympian recital of Lucian to be fabulous, it does not necessarily follow that an Olympian recital may not have taken place. Herodotus *may* have read at Olympia a first draught of his work, &c. &c. . . ." All this, no doubt, *may* have happened; but those who assume that it *did* happen, must do so on their own responsibility, not on the authority of Lucian, whose account is evicted of falsehood by every word of the above exposition of it. Nothing assuredly can be more at variance with the principles of sound criticism, than in a case where all the particulars of a story, in the shape in which it has been transmitted by its only narrator, are acknowledged to be false, to assume, in deference to some favourite prepossession of our own, that in some other shape it must have been true. History consists in the record of authenticated facts, not in the invention of probabilities to sustain the credit of popular falsifiers of its page.'—p. 266.

On reading this, we were disposed to rub our eyes, and make sure that we were awake. Mure seems to have changed sides with Grote and the moderns, whose scepticism he undertook to refute, since he wrote his three earlier volumes. The difference is, that while *they* reserve their wider scepticism for poetry, but are disposed to search after a nucleus of truth in prose stories, Mure finds a nucleus of truth in the poetry, and is angry with them for finding it in the prose. Again, Mure believes the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' to be from one author (among



other reasons), because the ancients believed it. True, they also believed the Homeric 'Hymns' to be from the same writer, as also the 'Margites,' the 'Frogs and Mice,' and other poems; and Mure does not: but then he supposes a nucleus of truth in their view. Kenrick urges that Lucian, like Voltaire, was more likely to distort a story than to invent it; for pure invention does not so well serve the purpose of scoffers: he therefore is disposed to believe something of the tale, *but builds nothing on the belief*. Our newly sceptical Mure sarcastically calls this 'a favourite prepossession,'—a phrase which he would think ill applied to his own notions concerning the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey.' Grote does not positively deny a Trojan war; but he says, that he who asserts it does so (to use Mure's phrase) 'on his own responsibility;' since Homer's account 'is evicted of falsehood' in numberless details; since moreover we have abundant proof that he did not think himself bound by the laws of truth, nor had any historical conscience at all. In spite of this argument, Mure does not hesitate to say—'That the legend of the Trojan war is *in so far* founded in fact, as to shadow forth a great struggle between, &c. . . . is not seriously denied by *the more reasonable* EVEN of those who are least disposed to admit *a basis of reality* in Hellenic fable,' &c. . . . (vol. ii. p. 211.)

But we are able to reply to Mr. Mure in Mr. Mure's own words. We can say to him concerning Homer, as he says to Krüger concerning Herodotus—'The pains which you take to confute in detail the traditions which you adopt in the gross, is very surprising.'

Bacon has said—'Truth comes forth out of *falsehood*, more quickly than out of *confusion*.' We are impressed with the belief that there is confusion here, and it is beyond our power to clear matters up, inasmuch as Mr. Mure seems far more eager to represent his difference from others at its maximum, than at its minimum. Nor is this very wonderful; for unless he had been so minded, he could scarcely have justified undertaking this work on so voluminous a scale. He is clearly mistaken in supposing that Grote and those of the same school disbelieve every alleged event for which they have not contemporaneous historical record. The very instances which Mure quotes against Grote as inconsistencies (as his believing the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus), prove that Mure has misinterpreted him. It is a trite doctrine, that, earlier than historical record, we may have arguments, more or less cogent, for believing popular accounts. When there is *no* historical record, the general arguments of probability are sometimes of overpowering weight, as depending on continuous institutions; but

when otherwise,—as in such questions as the Trojan war, the Argonautic expedition, the two sieges of Thebes, the Calydonian hunt,—all wise men hold their opinion modestly, though some hold it more strongly, others less. But to call a learned and thoughtful man ‘uncritical’ and ‘unreasonable’ for not seeing such an argument with the same shade of probability as we do ourselves, is surely a piece of arrogance not to be praised.

We had much admired Grote’s sagacity in his interpretation of Herodotus’s reference to the insurrection of the Medes against Darius. This used to be understood of Darius Nothus, which brings the chronology down to B.C. 408. While acquiescing in this interpretation, Kenrick remarked (p. xviii.), ‘*The language seems to suit an event more ancient than the reign of Nothus; but there is no record of any earlier insurrection.*’ Grote on the other hand finds intimation of this event in Herodotus himself. First, since this author never adverts to any other Darius than the son of Hystaspes, it is very difficult to think that he would have failed to discriminate, if another king was here intended. Next,

‘When we put together all the incidental notices which Herodotus lets drop, it will be found that the change of sceptre from *Smerdis* to *Darius* was a far larger political event than his direct narrative would seem to announce. . . . Immediately after the assassination of *Smerdis*, . . . the seven conspirators instigated the Persians to a general massacre of the Magians. [The *Magians* (says Grote above) were essentially one of the seven *Median* tribes]. . . . Furthermore, it appears that the authority of *Darius* was not readily acknowledged throughout the empire, and that an *interval of confusion* ensued before it became so. *The Medes actually revolted, and tried to maintain themselves by force against Darius*, who, however, found means to subdue them; though, when he convoked his troops from the various provinces, he did not receive from the satraps universal obedience,’ &c.—Grote, vol. iv. p. 301.

This view of the facts is rested by Grote upon various casual expressions and notices in Herodotus. Now, omitting for the moment his *proofs*, we ask, what can be plainer than *his meaning*—viz., that ‘the revolt of the Medes’ was ‘in an interval of confusion’ between the death of *Smerdis* and the complete supremacy of *Darius*? Yet Mure, who rejects Grote’s theory, reasons against it as follows:—‘Had Herodotus known of *any general insurrection of the Medes during the usurpation of Smerdis*, or of any great battle in which they were subdued, it seems incredible, that he should not only have suppressed all mention of such very important facts, in the otherwise detailed narrative given by him, but should have embodied that narrative in a form implying that he was totally ignorant of those events,’ &c. (p. 535.)

Now against whom is Mure reasoning? Who has ever said that when Herodotus spoke of the insurrection of the Medes against *Darius*, he intended us to understand an insurrection during the usurpation of *Smerdis*, while *Darius* was a private man? It really seems to us, that Mure's pugnacity makes him, with all his learning, sometimes quite puzzle-headed: for we will not impute it to moral perversity, that while affecting to refute Grote, he refutes what no man of common sense could for a moment maintain. Grote, it is true,—but not Grote only; Thirlwall also before him, and we believe several learned Germans,—have judged that the impostor *Smerdis*, conscious of his Magian origin, rested on Magian influences, and virtually restored Median ascendancy. And certainly in iii. 126, Herodotus calls the supremacy of *Smerdis* 'a reigning of the *Magians*,' and speaks of the Persians as having been 'stripped of the empire by the Medes;' in the face of which it is too much of Mr. Mure to set this view aside without ever deigning to allude to the argument. But suppose it to be an error; suppose Mure to be right in believing, and suppose Herodotus to have intended to say, that the reign of *Smerdis* was not attended by any changes in the administration; suppose the slaughter of the Magians to have been a mere outbreak of unreasoning frenzy (however inconsistent this may seem with the permanence of the festival *Magophonia*)—still, what has this to do with disproving an insurrection of the Medes, when exasperated by the assassination of *Smerdis* and the massacre of the Magians?

Mure, in fact, throws dust into our eyes, as to the insurrection of the Medes against *Darius*, and practically garbles Mr. Grote's view, in order to hold him up to contempt. Lastly, (would it have been believed?) after combating in an ample text the men of straw whom he has set up, he thus despatches Mr. Grote's real view in a short foot note:—'In the Behistûn inscription, many of the provinces of the empire, that of Media included, are described as having revolted against *Darius* shortly after his accession. But Herodotus shows no knowledge of these transactions.' (p. 535.)

'*Shortly after*,' are words which describe Grote's real view, the sham view having been refuted at large. And now what sort of refutation does Mure give? His own bare word.—'Herodotus shows no knowledge of those transactions,'\*—without condescending to notice the passages which Grote has quoted, as indicating that Herodotus *had* some knowledge of

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\* Again in the text:—'Not a hint occurs to the slightest resistance on the part of the unfortunate Medes:' but still he ignores the hints alleged by Grote.



them — viz., Herod. iii. 127, οἰδεόντων ἔτι τῶν πρηγμάτων, — mention of the *τραρχή*, iii. 126, 150 : — also, passages in iv. 166 ; iii. 67—150, on the revolt of Egypt and Babylon, and the independence assumed by the satrap of Lydia, are quoted by Grote in proof that Herodotus held the whole empire to have been convulsed by the accession of Darius. Now when Mr. Mure is aware that this was published by Grote *before* the decipherment of the Behistûn inscription appeared, and that it is splendidly confirmed by that inscription, it would seem to us reasonable in him to question, whether the uncritical blundering of a man, sceptical where he ought to be credulous, and credulous where he ought to be sceptical, could possibly by any lucky mistake have elicited truth out of Herodotus's falsehood. A little more modesty, or a little less pugnacity, might have made Mr. Mure suspect that Grote's inference, since it is now admitted to be true in fact, is really the true interpretation of Herodotus ; or at any rate, that it deserves a refutation, and something more than Mr. Mure's cold magisterial and unsupported denial.

But we go back from Herodotus to the more miscellaneous parts of this volume. The details concerning the lost Grecian literature are fuller than any others in our language, as far as we are aware, and show Mr. Mure's minute and diligent learning. To ordinary readers, however, the whole interest of the earlier part of this volume centres on two points, of which we proceed to speak.

1. Mr. Mure holds the Athenians to have been, in Greece, singularly deficient in imaginative and creative powers ; decidedly inferior even to Sparta in original talent for music and lyrical poetry. Sparta, according to him, declined in taste for polite literature with the development of her political power. Athens rose into literary eminence in her time of freedom, because, becoming a political centre to cosmopolite talents, she drew into herself the accomplishments of other tribes ; moreover, because her superiority was in the understanding, *not* in the imagination ; and therefore it was only in the later stage of cultivation that she was able to shine.

We believe that most readers of Mr. Mure's pages will be struck at the amount of proof which he adduces for this view, which seems to us to be original ; and we unhesitatingly avow our belief, that he has usefully called attention to this side of the subject. It is his opinion that the Olympic era (B. C. 776) is the true date of Lycurgus ; though he allows that this may have been the *old age* of that celebrated man. And here also his proofs strike us as new and probable ; and, provisionally, we adopt his opinion. Lycurgus is said to have collected the poems of Homer at a time when Attica and Athens were wholly

illiterate. But after the conquest of Messenia, and indeed during the war, we can well believe that Sparta degenerated more and more into a nation of soldiers; and her political rise was her intellectual degradation. We do not wholly go along with Mure in his estimate of Athens. The serfdom of the Attic population until Solon, and the despotism of the Peisistratidæ which followed, are recognised by him as having depressed the Attic intellect—Attic *understanding* he calls it; but surely, if they had *imagination* also, it was quite as likely to be depressed as their other faculties. The year 509 B.C. was attained before the republican revolution under Cleisthenes awoke their energies; and at that date the Epic, Elegiac, Lyrical, and Iambic poetry, with the music of lyre and flute, were already invented by others. It is hard to tax the Athenians with want of imagination, because they did not re-invent what was presented to their hand. Athens *could* do nothing else but accept and improve; and that she did. At the same time, we regard it as quite vain to imagine that distinctions of race determine results of this nature. Undoubtedly, where political institutions had a strong development, they affected the general character. As military drilling, and living in public under *regimen*, destroyed all genius in Sparta, so the recurrence of the juries and the public assembly, and the need of eloquence, overcultivated sharpness of understanding and lawyerlike skill in the Athenian: while Greeks who had *no* political position, but were simply freemen at large, had probably a wider scope of talent and more various genius than either Spartans or Athenians. The race was, if not the same, yet as much the same as is usual in any country of the Mediterranean. Athens drew Grecian talent into herself, as London draws that of England; and while we see no reason to undervalue Attic, as opposed to Greek, creative powers, we maintain (in half-agreement with Mr. Mure), that the Attic eminence is really a Hellenic boast.

2. Against Mr. Grote—who has bestowed high eulogium on Athens, as compared to other Grecian states, for her tolerance of *philosophical heresy*—Mr. Mure pointedly declares the very opposite, that Athens was precisely the most illiberal state in Greece. The reader will wish to hear him speak for himself (p. 519):—

‘Every fact or evidence bearing on the subject convincingly proves the very reverse of Mr. Grote’s dogma to be true; proves, not only that Athens was notorious for acts of wanton and bloodthirsty persecutions against enlightened men and liberal doctrines, but that she was the only Greek state open to the charge of such bigotry and illiberality, either in conduct or sentiment. Athenian intolerance persecuted and judicially murdered Socrates; drove Plato, Euclid, and others of the

most illustrious disciples of Socrates into exile by the terror of a similar fate; fined and banished Anaxagoras, and, in his absence, condemned him to death; fined and banished Damon and Protagoras; persecuted Pericles, Aspasia, and Phidias; threw the latter into prison, and allowed him there to languish and to die; and forced Diagoras to escape by flight the result of a similar persecution with which he was menaced. Here we have some eight or ten well-authenticated cases of the best or wisest men of the age, both her own citizens and foreigners, having been slain or cruelly treated by Athens, all on the same cause or pretext, it matters not which, of their enlightened views and free expression of opinion. Several other less well attested cases might be added to the list. Mr. Grote will not find it easy to substantiate against any other Greek republic, or against the whole body of the Hellenic states united, charges of intolerance approaching in number and magnitude to those above stated. We question, indeed, whether a single such case can be discovered beyond the limits of Attica . . . . Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Zeno, taught successively at Elea theories as sceptical and as repugnant to the popular prejudice and superstition as any for which Anaxagoras and Socrates suffered. Were they 'quickly arrested in their career?' . . . Empedocles . . . at Agrigentum arrogated to himself, with far greater audacity than Socrates, the credit of a divinely inspired missionary, and of direct intercourse with the deity? Was he quickly arrested in his career? He was idolized as the most illustrious man and citizen of his age and country . . . . We hear nothing of Anaxagoras being molested on account of his moral or political opinions in his native Ionia . . . . but, at his death, he was decreed a public funeral, and his memory continued in after-ages to be fondly cherished at Lampsacus . . . . Everywhere, *except* in Athens, even in obtuse and ascetic Sparta, the fraternity of 'sophists' seem to have been treated with the honours due to their genius . . . .'

This passage seems to us an excellent exhibition of Mr. Mure's strength and weakness. He does not condescend to refute or even allude to Grote's arguments, which assert that the death of Socrates was half from political causes and half from his own proud desire of martyrdom; although Thirlwall had already avowed that the truest cause of the public enmity against Socrates was, that his precepts were believed to have moulded those wicked and dangerous citizens, Critias and Alcibiades. Mr. Mure leaps over numerous other secondary questions, and seems in many ways to forget historical justice, in his eagerness to assault Mr. Grote. That gentleman has, perhaps, much to say in reply, and we wait to learn; but provisionally we confess, that he seems to have here laid himself open by too warm an admiration for Athens. We cannot answer Mr. Mure's case; and not only so but our *à priori* expectation favours that view. To Mr. Grote we heartily concede, that, take it for all in all, there was no constitution in Greece so good as that of Athens;



but perfection is not given to anything human, and every possible constitution has its weak side. One weak point in democracy undoubtedly is, religious intolerance,—religious conservatism, if any one so please to call it. If we imagine a democratic church to be put in possession of a pure creed, it will hold the same with more tenacity than if the organization were aristocratic; but conversely, if it start with a gross and superstitious creed, of that also it will be conservative. A multitude of tradesmen and small cultivators has a sounder political morality, or at least better intentions, than a knot of oligarchical intriguers; but they have seldom much sympathy with speculative philosophy, or with abstract reformation of the national creed: and both their sincere religiosity and their ignorance make them a tool of insincere demagogues, whenever religious questions arise. In his highly-coloured invective against Athenian *bigotry, wanton and bloodthirsty persecution, murder of Socrates, &c.*, Mure seems as injuriously to have forgotten this side of the question. *Why* were Anaxagoras and Phidias assailed at Athens? only because they were personally friends of Pericles. The assailers were Tory-radicals, who, to wound the *bonâ-fide* popular leader Pericles, worked upon the bigotry of the vulgar to attack his friends. That the Athenian populace was intensely susceptible of superstitious frenzy, no one has more clearly stated than Mr. Grote, in treating the affair of the mutilated Hermæ during the Peloponnesian war. But let us hint to Mr. Mure, that the ‘murder of Socrates’ was long before put in train by the ‘great intellect’ (p. 353)\* of Aristophanes, who indeed ended his celebrated comedy of the Clouds by exhortations to burn down the house of Socrates. We cannot read the ‘Memorabilia’ of Xenophon (to say nothing of the Platonic Socrates) without seeing how inevitable it was, that the mass of the Athenians should believe Socrates to be bent on undermining fundamental morality, and to have a proud contempt for men and gods alike; and altogether, the proceedings against Socrates seem to us to be the least dishonourable of these ebullitions of bigotry.

Nevertheless, we welcome this contribution of Mr. Mure to a correcter appreciation of the social influences of Greece: and of this volume, containing five hundred and fifty pages, there are, perhaps, as many as thirty, which we expect to leave an impression behind them.

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\* Mr. Mure in that passage undervalues Herodotus in comparison with Aristophanes, as superstitious and credulous; yet Herodotus was mildly and philosophically tolerant, on the only true ground,—the varieties of human intellect; while the profane Aristophanes excited the populace to bigoted violence.

ART. III.—*The Indian Archipelago : its History and Present State.*

By Horace St. John, author of 'History of British Conquests in India,' 'Life of Christopher Columbus,' &c. In Two Volumes. London : Longman and Co. 1853.

THIS is one of the few books continually teeming from the press, of which it can be truly said that it supplies a special literary want. While rich materials for a history of the Eastern Archipelago were scattered through scores of volumes, the English public needed a good digest, carefully prepared, skilfully arranged, characterized by moral integrity, and uniting vivacity of picturesque descriptions with scientific accuracy of detail, fulness of commercial intelligence, and fidelity of historical narration. Such a digest is provided in these two volumes. They embody the information contained in previous works to which the reader is perpetually referred as authorities, and as also guiding such further inquiries as he may wish to prosecute, in the several languages of Europe. The writer is entitled to the praise of most laborious diligence, not merely in accumulating materials, but in working them. Our examination of his production warrants us to say that it is as complete a picture of those gorgeous islands, and as trustworthy an exhibition of the proceedings of European governments and traders towards them as could have been presented within the space—a space of which few readers are likely to complain as being too large. It is due to the author that we should notice with approbation the analyses of the chapters prefixed to each volume, and the marginal indices on the side of the page which so greatly facilitate the reading, the recollection, and the application of the multifarious contents.

The fame of the isles which stud the Indian Ocean as it rolls by their shores to the Pacific had long since filled the imagination of western adventurers with luxurious dreams—gold, pearls, gums, spices, rubies, sapphires, emeralds, velvets, and damasks, and 'the purple light of perfumed lamps.' From such visions, created by the romancing of earlier voyagers, men awoke to soberer descriptions of the barbaric grandeur and neglected treasures of those distant groups.

Extending through forty degrees of longitude and thirty degrees of latitude, and comprehending an area of five millions of miles, the Archipelago is the centre of those ocean highways which connect the Asiatic nations with the harbours of Western America and Europe. It lies along both sides of the

equator, eastward of the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean, north of Australia, south of the Chinese Sea, and west of the Pacific. The approach from the west is through the Straits of Sunda and Malacca. The islands are geographically divided into groups, though we do not learn that there are any physical arrangements to correspond. Numerous traces of volcanic action favour the geological theory of the submarine formation of a continent whose summits are thus laid bare. Their appearance to the navigation of the narrow seas that separate them is singularly pleasing—'the coral tower scarcely lifting its head above the waters before it seems a waving basket of flowers; the granite rocks and the volcanic cones, lofty as they may be, are wrapped in everlasting green.' The blue and gleaming waters stored with rare varieties of fish—the alligators, crocodiles, and lizards in the mangrove creeks and rivers—the exquisitely tinted shells, and flower-like weeds of the sea beach—the perpetual brightness of the verdure on the gentle slopes—and the forests traversed by the elephant, the tapir, and the gazelle, where the bird of paradise and countless other birds of harsh note, glitter in every variety of magnificent plumage—present an aspect which we are assured can scarcely be exaggerated by the most poetical description.

'To open in detail a view of this Archipelago, to enumerate its sources of wealth, to describe its aspect with the character and condition of the races which inhabit it, is the design of the following pages, as well as to show in what manner the Europeans were introduced to the regions, and how they have gone on, step by step, assuming rule over the islands, to secure their commerce and enrich themselves from their productions. The history of the Archipelago is a picturesque and dramatic narrative, and the accounts of the countries themselves, with their inhabitants and resources, represent one of the most interesting divisions of the globe.'—Vol. i. p. 25.

In pursuing this plan the author describes in detail the separate islands, beginning with the most western—Sumatra, following the authority of Marsden's 'History,' which he has compared with the more recent contributions of Sir Stamford Raffles, Crawford, Logan, and other writers familiar with the locality. The Malays are traced in their principal dispersions. The Hindu empire over the islands is described from its rise to its extinction by the Arabs, who, by introducing both their merchandize and their religion, prepared the way for higher civilization, until the flourishing commerce of Venice aroused the jealousy of Portugal, and a new path was opened to the east round the Cape of Good Hope. Emmanuel, the King of Portugal, ambitious of oriental empire, bent all his energies to that object. His first expedition was a squadron of four ships, com-



manded by Diego Lopez di Sequeira. Mohammed, an Arabian usurper of the sovereignty of Malacca, dreaded the arrival of these strangers, of whose power and oppressions in the east the most frightful accounts had been spread by the disciples of the Korân. Once and again the king plotted the massacre of the Portuguese, and the capture of their ships, but failed through the premature discovery of his schemes; and Sequeira and his companions, threatening vengeance on the treachery they escaped, returned to Lisbon. Little time was lost in executing the threat. Albuquerque, the greatest of the valiant captains who built up the brilliant but transitory empire of the Portuguese in India, advanced from Cochin to Malacca during the marriage festivities of the king's daughter, and, after a bloody struggle, drove the king from his capital; after which he planted the Portuguese flag, put the chiefs to death, and reduced the people to slavery. The conquest spread to the Moluccas, to Celebes, Java, Borneo, and Sumatra. But Magellan, a Portuguese gentleman, who had served his king in the Indian wars, being disappointed by the ingratitude of his royal master, repaired to the court of Charles V. of Spain, offering to conduct an eastern expedition on behalf of that aspiring monarch. Passing through the Straits which bear his name, he discovered the delicious group of the Ladrones, and the forty isles lying in the northern extremity of the Archipelago, to which at a later time was given the name of the Philippines. At Batuan, in Mendano, the principal island in this large group, and at Zebu, he celebrated the rites of the Christian religion.

‘A hospitable reception awaited him at both places. The king of Batuan invited the strangers to his palace—a wooden structure raised on lofty piles—where he entertained them in barbarian state. A banner embroidered with the figure of a cross and a crown of thorns was delivered to him, and he was instructed to set it upon a high mountain, and pray to it when storms, or war, or any other danger impended over the country. Did any chance Christian traveller, light afterwards on the people of Batuan assembling to worship this symbol of a mysterious creed on the peak of some lofty hill, it must have filled his mind with wonder. Many of the credulous voyagers of those early times would doubtless have excited their imaginations with the idea of an especial revelation of truth to these lonely islanders, and priests would not have been wanting to preach the miracle in the countries round about.

‘At Zebu the king was baptized, with most of the nobles, professing at once conversion to the Christian religion and allegiance to the crown of Spain. A Spaniard died, and Magellan desired permission to bury him in the royal garden. The prince answered, that he and all his possessions were at the service of Magellan's sovereign, how then could he refuse a few feet of earth to cover the remains of one of that

sovereign's subjects? The work of conversion was rapidly carried on. Christian names were bestowed on the chiefs, and the people embraced a new religion, as though it had been thoroughly explained to their understandings. The medical skill of the strangers was ascribed to their faith, and there was a portentous destruction of altars and images when the brother of the king recovered under the hand of Magellan. One village of heathens, it is related, refused to deny their ancient gods. Their houses were levelled to the earth, and a cross erected on the ruins. The people were inspired with awe by the appearance of their visitors, whom they believed to be endowed with celestial virtue. The Pagans of the Philippines, like the Brahmins of Ceylon, were seduced into a new religion *sine Christo Christiani*, and took the names of Christians, not because they saw the faith was true, but because it was preached by wealthy and powerful strangers, whom they could not but confess superior to themselves. It seemed a privilege to worship the same God with the "Sons of Heaven." Magellan, however great man though he was, possessed not entirely that circumspect and cautious prudence which guided Columbus safely through so many dangers. He discovered to the Philippine chiefs, by many indications, his design of founding a new empire, and establishing a new religion in the eastern seas. At the same time, he repressed among his companions that thirst of gold, which would have betrayed to the islanders that cupidity of the European heart. When a crown, massively wrought of the pure precious metal, with a collar of the same costly substance, was offered in exchange for a few necklaces of crystal beads, he forbade the transaction. Great quantities of gold were exhibited by the natives on the persons of their women and the decorations of their feasts. The moderation of the admiral, in his enquiries for this, the great prize of the explorer, deceived many, who therefore attributed his zeal for proselytism to pure religious enthusiasm.

'But at the little island of Maktau, inhabited by the worshippers of the sun, one of the princes refused to recognise, in the envoy of Spain, the presence of a superior power. He dared Magellan to combat, and with the chivalry characteristic of his age the navigator accepted the challenge. Arraying sixty of his companions in armour, he attacked a vast multitude of the barbarians. By a feigned retreat they led his troops into a morass, where, up to their necks in water, the Spaniards were overwhelmed by their treacherous enemies. Magellan, with eight or nine of his companions, perished, like Decius, in the marsh, and the rest dissipated the belief in their heavenly birth by a precipitate and broken flight. The body of their leader could not be redeemed by any ransom; and though the discovery of the passage between Patagonia and the Land of Fire has rendered his name immortal, the world never knew whether Magellan had found a friendly hand to dig his grave.'—Vol. i. pp. 105—108.

Soon after the death of Magellan, the Spaniards, having lost the *prestige* of their name at Zebu, were compelled to abandon their position in that island, and after several adven-

tures in Borneo and in the Moluccas, the remnant of them returned to Spain. The jealousy of the Portuguese was naturally aroused by the presence of their powerful rivals in the east. They extended their commerce to the Spice Islands, but were involved in disastrous wars which drove them from Sumatra, and though, by a terrible struggle with the Malays, they retained their power in the Peninsula, and among the Moluccas, it was not without inducing the emperor Charles V. of Spain by a payment of three hundred and fifty ducats of gold to renounce his claims on the Spice Islands that they were able to maintain their ground. After a long series of cruelties in Borneo, relieved for a while by the wise and peaceful administration of Galvan, which secured the love of the people by promoting among them the civilization and the religion of his native land, they had the mortification of seeing the revival of the Spanish power in the Indian waters, where they added the Philippines to their dominions, spreading their colonies and their religion as far as Manilla.

'The planting of the Spanish settlements within three days' sail of the Celestial Empire was the source of no small alarm on that continent. The emperor looked with a timid eye on the progress of a nation whom his barbarian vanity included among the savage nations of the earth. From a period whose date is lost in the uncertainty of tradition, the traders of China had carried on an intercourse with the Indian Archipelago. Native records alone point to the commencement of a series of enterprises continued to this day by the shrewd and cautious merchants of that ancient empire. They visited Java, it is known, in the ninth century, and it is the opinion of one of the ablest and most distinguished authorities on all subjects connected with the Archipelago that their voyages extended to Borneo at a far remoter date, even before the foundation of the Malay kingdom at Brunê. In the thirteenth century this intercourse wore all the appearance of long establishment, notwithstanding the idea of one historian that previous to the voyage of Marco Polo it was neither active nor important. The narrative of the Venetian traveller who penetrated into those distant regions long before De Gama had opened their gates to the traders of Europe, deserves attention, especially since it has been elucidated by the learned historian of Sumatra. We there find accounts of the Chinese adventurers among the Indian islands, which suggest no idea of infant intercourse; following him, was the Arabian traveller of the fourteenth century, whose relation corroborates his; evidence, indeed, too convincing to be doubted, too abundant to be detailed here, has been accumulated by a learned and laborious writer, which proves, that long before an European settlement was established in the Archipelago its marts were visited by regular traders from China, exchanging the products of that empire for the luxuries supplied by the islands. The pepper, camphor, and gold of Borneo furnished the



palaces of Peking, and ministered to the tastes of the opulent epicures celebrated for their attachment to spices, perfumes, and dazzling ornaments.

'In their annual voyages between Java or Borneo and their own coasts, the Chinese fell in frequently with the Philippines, and opened a trade with them. Some of their annalists pretend that the group was originally colonized from the empire. Such traditions deserve inquiry; they belong, however, to the antiquarians of history. Whether or not the Philippines were peopled from China or from any of the regions lying between that and Hindustan, they were at an early period visited by its merchants. Enterprising, ambitious, crafty, but headlong in the pursuit of fortune, the Chinese speedily threatened to become formidable opponents to the foundation in that quarter of the Eastern seas of a Spanish authority; an authority which they viewed as an encroachment on their own. The other enemies of the new power, divided, scattered, held in check by terror, almost relinquished the struggle for independence on their native soil. The Spaniards settled in peace, on the rich coast provinces, although they never succeeded in quenching the unconquerable spirit, in subduing the energy, or softening the hatred, of some more bold and savage tribes, who scorned the humbler race that had submitted itself to the white man's yoke. They retreated to their haunts amid woods and hills, swamps and rocky valleys, where they defended an independence which they could never be persuaded or compelled to yield. In spite of their hostility, the Spaniards consolidated their plans of colonization, and were only alarmed by the turbulent population of Chinese, which soon grew up under their flag.'—*Ib.* pp. 186—188.

From the earliest records of the Archipelago the formidable pirates of those seas have constantly played a terrible part, exhibiting the most daring feats of barbarous cruelty. One of the earliest examples distinctly mentioned in this history is thus introduced to our notice by the author:—

'In 1574, an enemy appeared on their coasts of a novel and formidable character. This was the great rebel pirate Limahou, the terror in those days of all the Indian waters, whose achievements were similar in audacity to those of his descendants at the present time, and his rivals among the Malay islanders. When the Spaniards captured Manilla, he viewed their arrival with awe; but, receiving accounts of their riches and their weakness, conceived the idea of freighting his fleets with the spoils of the European merchants. His renown was so great, and his depredations had been so daring, that the Emperor of China, who, indeed, was comparatively a feeble potentate, equipped three squadrons to scour the neighbouring seas in search of him. Averse to an encounter with the imperial arms, he resolved to seek at once a new theatre for his predatory achievements, and steered wide of the China coast. A junk from Manilla, laden with merchandize, and bound for the continent, crossed his track; he

seized it, and from the captain learned the situation of the Spaniards in their chief city.

'Animated by the intelligence, he resolved to attack Manilla, though defended by the arts of European fortification. With sixty-two junks, manned by 2000 fighting men, besides great numbers of sailors, many pieces of artillery, and with 1500 women on board, he anchored in the bay, near an avenue leading to the city. His arrival took place in the dead of the night. Without clamour or confusion, this huge armament was disposed along the outer walls, while a Japanese chief, named Sioco, landed with 600 men, and commenced his march in silence towards Manilla. The darkness concealed them, and, by dawn, they were close to the fortifications, where a resident had his house outside. The guards were cut to pieces, and all the inmates of the dwelling put to death. Continuing to advance, they encountered a body of Spanish troops, just raised to the defence of the city. An engagement took place; the Europeans fell on their enemies with infinite courage, but lost eight of their number, and were on the point of flight when another company of soldiers arrived in greater force.

'The Chinese were assaulted, considerable slaughter followed, and at length the pirate ranks were broken. Sioco, foreseeing no success that day, drew off his men, and took to the boats. All the city was now awake. Every chance of a surprise was gone, and the renewed attack was postponed until the next morning.

'Juan de Salcedo, the governor, was then in the maritime province of Ilocos, and saw Limahou's fleet pass by, not far from the shore. He lost no time in collecting his forces, and, sailing to the rescue of his capital, reached the bay on the night after the attack. To deceive the Chinese into the belief that a large armament had arrived, he announced his arrival by flourishes of trumpets, salvoes of artillery, and the display of numerous lights, as though signals were passing from ship to ship along the line of a fleet. Limahou in the meanwhile, steadily advanced his junks towards the city, and before day-break his armament was under the shadow of its fortification.

'Sioco again landed with a large body of men, arranged in three divisions. One was to march along the principal street to the square, commanded by the fort, where he hoped a sortie would be made. Another was to skirt the beach, and the third he would himself lead up the river bank. The Chinese obeyed these orders well. They arrived in the square, throwing brands into the houses as they passed along. These quickly kindled the light bamboo edifices which then, as now, constituted the bulk of the habitations. They provoked the people by every device of outrage, and challenged them by expressions of defiance to sally forth, to leave their vantage ground behind batteries and walls, and engage the enemy hand to hand.

'The Spaniards were too wary. As their besiegers became more densely massed in the street and square, they discharged their great guns, sweeping down whole ranks, and making deadly havoc. Sioco,

despairing of provoking a sortie, gave the signal of assault. The Chinese rushed forward. Their number and previous courage seemed to promise success. The palisade shook before their onset, and was overthrown. They poured in, and approached the interior fortifications. Salcedo with reinforcements at this moment entered the square, broke their ranks from their rear, hewed a passage through them to the citadel, and there led such an attack upon the Chinese that they retired with precipitation towards the shore.

'Limahou now entered the river with his junks. He saw his ranks flying under the fire of the Spaniards. All seemed lost. He sought to rally them through the impulse of despair, withdrew the vessels, and left his pirate followers the alternative of plunging into the water, or checking their rout, and recoiling to a second assault. They remained passive under the guns of the citadel, and he was compelled to land with 400 men by way of reinforcement. A few ships lying high and dry on the beach were burned, and Limahou prepared to sack that part of the town which was not already in flames. The valour of Salcedo disappointed him even of this triumph, and the humiliated buccaneer was driven to the refuge of his fleet. Sioco had fallen in the conflict, and numbers of the Chinese had shared his fate. Limahou, dispirited by the loss and disgrace that attended this catastrophe, sailed for the coast of Pangasinan, on the eastern side of the island, while the Spaniards, having defeated their enemy on St. Andrew's Day, ascribed their triumph to his favour, and celebrated it in an ovation at his shrine.'—*Ib.* pp. 188—192.

The power of the Portuguese in the Moluccas had been destroyed by a native prince before their own kingdom became united to that of Spain on the deaths of Don Sebastian and Don Henry. Through a wretched system both of trade and of government in the east, aggravated by the rivalry between Spain and England, and by the activity of the Chinese settlers in the Archipelago, the Spaniards were tottering in their ascendancy, when the new-born energy of the Dutch began to push their commerce to the farthest east, and they entered on that career of policy and conquest for which they have been so severely condemned by the other commercial states of Europe.

The first English adventure to the east is thus described—

'At length, 1577, a squadron left Plymouth, bound on a warlike voyage along the western coasts of Spanish America, and accomplished the unpremeditated achievement. It sailed under Sir Francis Drake, who steered in the track of Magellan, passed the straits which bear that navigator's name, and committed great havoc along the shores of the enemy's empire. Then fearing to encounter some superior fleet on his return, Drake resolved to pass the old bounds of the mariner's adventure, to traverse the immense space of the Pacific, to search for the famous Spice Islands, and bear a cargo of their costly products to



astonish his countrymen at home. Entering the Archipelago he was delighted by its beauty. He steered first to Ternate. There the king, who still held his nominal sovereignty over seventy islands, was engaged in a struggle with the Portuguese, who continued to pursue their favourite policy in the group. He received the strangers well, dazzled them by displays of Indian splendour, exchanged presents, and allowed his people to trade with them in spices. A valuable cargo was taken on board. Delighted with this good fortune, Drake visited numerous shores, amazed at their prodigious fertility and pleased with the simple manners of the people. Among other islands they saw Java, then an unknown region, and collected some information respecting its resources and condition.

‘Thence they spread sail for their great voyage to the Cape, reported by the jealous Portuguese to be crowded with dangers from hurricanes, tornadoes, reefs, breakers, and all the terrors which could daunt the inexperienced navigators of that age. Without once touching land, Drake steered through this wide sea, visited the Cape, and blew to the winds every idle rumour circulated by the craft of the Portuguese. He arrived in England after a voyage of two years, ten months, and some days. The people flocked to behold the first ships of the English, and the second of any nation, which had made the circuit of the world. The news of Drake’s achievements spread through the country; the shores were covered with multitudes incessantly renewed; Queen Elizabeth, having delayed a few days to save appearances to Spain, which complained of the ravages committed on her shores, visited the vessels, and conferred knighthood on their bold commander. A voluminous collection might be made of the songs, sonnets, odes, and lyric poems composed and sung in honour of this great adventure. The example of Drake immediately revived the ardour, which so many disasters had conspired to quench, and the favourite ambition of the most sanguine aspirants in England was to spread a sail on the remotest waters of the East.

‘The arrival of Drake opened a new era in the history of the Archipelago, for though he came as a meteor and so disappeared, the reports he carried home gave an impulse to the spirit of commercial adventure. The rich islands that had been seen, the marvellous relations that had been heard, were described in language that fired the imagination of the hearer. The traveller’s eye, feasting upon scenes already conjured up by fancy, saw in all the East gorgeous splendour and abundant wealth. His ear, accustomed to the romantic accounts that were brought circuitously into Europe, readily drank in the wildest tales. An exaggeration of real scenes, an indistinct comprehension of native reports, the pleasure of exciting marvel, and a florid style of description, account for the strange relations which crowd the pages of the earlier travellers and were accepted by the credulity of the age.’—*Ib.* pp. 201—203.

A second voyage was undertaken by Cavendish, who reported on his return,—‘I navigated the islands of the Philippines, hard

upon the coast of China, of which country I have heard such intelligence as hath not been heard of in these parts; a country the stateliness and riches of which I fear to make report of, lest I should not be credited. I sailed among the islands of Molucca, where among some of the heathen people I was well entreated, and where our countrymen may have trade as freely as the Portugals.' One English company had obtained the privilege of trading to the Levant. Another had opened intercourse across the Caspian Sea with Persia. The Levant Company had extended its operations as far as Malacca, where they excited the jealousy of the Dutch, who spread the terror of the English name throughout the East as pirates. In 1601 the English East India Company extended the British commerce to the Archipelago. Beaten by the Dutch from Java, they laid the letter and presents of James I. at the feet of the king of Achin, in Sumatra, who permitted them to erect a factory, and sought a close alliance with the British monarch. The commercial disputes between the Dutch and the English led, in those days of rude diplomacy, to open war. After some burning, blockading, and threatening, there was a naval action without a decided issue. Meanwhile there was a conspiracy of the native chiefs, in which the conduct of both the princes and the English is variously characterized by Dutch writers. But the alliance was soon broken up, and the independence of the kingdom was sacrificed to the vengeance of the Hollanders. A treaty of mutual aid and defence spread but a thin veil over the bitter animosity between the English and the Dutch. The English were the weaker party. To silence their complaints, and to punish them for alleged intrigues with the Portuguese, ten of their number, with nine Japanese and one Portuguese sailor, were tortured, and then put to death at Amboyna. This atrocious cruelty, condemned even by historians of Holland as both unjust and impolitic, stirred up the depths of the English heart, and reprisals were demanded by the people; but the apathy of James I. prevented the outpouring of the popular fury on their treacherous allies. Cromwell spoke to the merchants and people of England on this subject as became his great English heart.

Notwithstanding the supremacy of the Dutch in the islands, the English were firmly established on the Indian continent, and were not long in acquiring settlements at several places in Sumatra. From these valuable settlements they were driven by the French fleet in 1760. Two years after, Sir William Dampier prepared a plan, in which he was warmly seconded by the East India Company, for the conquest of Manilla. Flushed with their recent triumphs in the Carnatic, the British troops landed

under the fire of their own frigates—carrying their arms and ammunition above their heads through the foaming surge—summoned Manilla to capitulate, after a heavy bombardment, carried the place by assault, and received from Don Emanuel Roxo, the governor and archbishop of the Philippines, a written capitulation for ever of the whole of the Philippines to Great Britain. This doubtful conquest was, however, soon after restored to the Spaniards. ‘The character of these proceedings was not in any high degree honourable to the British name. Neither by the success of our arms, the wisdom of our policy, nor the conduct of our operations, had we acquired any honours to crown the triumphs which had lately made our standard supreme on the Coromandel coast and on the lower borders of the Ganges.’—Vol. ii. p. 28.

Before the close of the eighteenth century the English had obtained settlements on Balumbanga, off the north extremity of Borneo, whence they were soon driven by the Sulu pirates. In 1786, Pinang, or Prince of Wales’ Island, off the west coast of the Malay peninsula, was ceded to the British East India Company by the rajah of Keddah. Four years later, Malacca yielded to the British power; then Perak in the same peninsula; and, one by one, all the Dutch possessions and advantages in the Archipelago. Between Cape Horn and Cape Comorin, and from Bengal to the Yellow Sea, the British flag was triumphant.

Sir Stamford Raffles was appointed lieutenant-governor of Java—a station for which his education, his high principles, his vigorous intellect, and his noble heart had eminently fitted him. By the wisdom of his policy, and the energy with which he showed his humanity towards the industrious by suppressing buccaneers, he established a powerful moral ascendancy over the native princes of Java, extended the interest of British commerce, and consolidated the influence of our empire over the whole Archipelago, while he never lost sight of the welfare of the population of the island.

‘Whether Great Britain was wise in her abdication of the territories won from the Dutch in 1811, is a question which by the British politician can be answered only in one way. It is safe to assert that, had these islands remained under the government of the East India Company, the Archipelago would, thirty-seven years later, have worn an aspect wholly different from that which it assumed under the divided sway of Holland and the pirates. The trade of England enlarged, the prosperity of the Archipelago increased, the general welfare of the human race promoted, and Christendom graced with a new dominion,—such would have been the results. But the wisdom of diplomacy decided otherwise.

‘The fate of the east was decided in the west. An insurrection in



Amsterdam, followed by outbursts all over Holland, made her once more a nation. The colossal power of Napoleon Buonaparte, shaken by the three days' battle on the field of Leipsic, was shattered to ruins on the plains of Waterloo. The Netherlands had regained their independence—though the old republican form of government was rejected by a people which had degenerated from the virtuous patriotism that animated them when they originally shook off the double yoke of priest and prince—in Spain. The star of the Corsican despot had been quenched amid the storms of war, and peace dawned amid a general reconstruction of the European system. There was an universal exchange of conquered territories. By the Treaty of London, signed on the 13th of August, 1814, the transmarine possessions of Holland were restored to her—with the exception of the Cape of Good Hope and Collins on the Malabar coast. The peace of Paris in 1815 comprised these arrangements. The brief but bright day of English dominion then closed, Java was once more delivered to the Dutch, Celebes was next evacuated, and the Spice Islands followed, with the inferior acquisitions. During the few years of British administration, so wise and mild a policy had been pursued, that the natives relapsed with reluctance to the power of their old masters.

'Thus closed the era of the war, since which the rival nations have worked with diplomacy in place of arms.'—*Ib.* pp. 54, 55.

Notwithstanding the commercial restrictions with which the Dutch administered the possessions which they had recovered by the Treaty of London, in 1814, Sir Stamford Raffles and Colonel Farquhar succeeded in opening the valuable emporium of English trade in the island of Singapore—'a new Malta in the East'—while the Dutch were struggling to perpetuate their influence throughout the Archipelago.

The English in Singapore were flourishing peacefully in the promise of a thriving trade, and had already, in the true national spirit, established a newspaper as the organ of the community. 'The Singapore Free Press,' established in 1835, has long enjoyed a European reputation.

After the new arrangement with the Dutch in 1824, for terminating the mutual differences and jealousies between the two states, by which all the existing establishments of the English were ceded to them except those in Sumatra, the Dutch pushed their commercial adventures to numerous islands eastward of their old possessions, while the English flag floated once more over Malacca, now declared, like Singapore, free to the commerce of all countries.

The author has devoted several chapters of his second volume to the elucidation of that terrible piracy in the Indian Archipelago, of which Sir Stamford Raffles said, it 'has been the scourge of all its peaceful and industrious populations,—a corrupting influence over the whole Malayan race.' These

marauding expeditions were anciently carried on by the ancestors of those princes by whom they are encouraged—either openly or secretly—to this day. It is the leading characteristic of the Malays, scattered as they are among the innumerable creeks and narrow channels which afford such safe retreats and easy methods of escape, to prefer a mode of life so exciting and perilous. As among the ancient islanders of the Ionian Sea, it has become an essential part of their social organization.

The economy of these buccaneers is described at large, their modes of flight, their batteries, their vessels, slaves, fighting-men, weapons, decorations; the constitution of their fleets, their laws, music and songs, floating camps, routes, seasons for pillage, mode of warfare, battle sounds, with graphic accounts of some of their most destructive voyages.

The efforts of the Dutch to suppress this terrific barbarism were seconded by the Indian princes and by the English; nevertheless the evil increased. The history of one of these daring freebooters illustrates the tragical vicissitudes of that mode of life in comparatively recent times:—

‘This famous freebooter was descended from a Tidorian prince of the same name, who, about thirty years previously, when his dynasty was overthrown, fled and seized some Alfoeran districts under the jurisdiction of Ternate. Next he retired for refuge to the little-known island of Ceram, with its unexplored wilderness of sago forest. There he established a retreat, and issued from time to time to plunder the Dutch factories. In 1823, these exploits of Rajah Djilolo animated the Governor-General to attempt his capture. Information was brought that he had fortified himself at Hating, on the northern coast of Ceram, where a number of native war-boats had been seen collected. The pirate chief refused to hold an interview with a Dutch commander, fired on the Netherlands flag, and defied every attempt at negotiation. Two ships were then commissioned to reduce him. They proceeded first to the settlement of Haway, eighteen miles from Hating, where the pirates had their station. A heap of ashes only was found as a memorial that the place had been, and that Djilolo had enjoyed his revenge. Next day the vessels anchored in the Bay of Hating. No signs appeared of warlike preparation, and none of an amicable welcome. A boat was sent on shore with a letter, inviting the rajah to come on board with his chief secretary and another person, that he might go to the capital of the Moluccas, and there agree with the Netherlands government on arrangements which he had hitherto neglected to observe. An hour was allowed him for the preparation of an answer. It passed, and another message was sent. A reply then came that the rajah was away, which was treated as a pretext, because no allusion to his absence had at first been made. The two corvettes immediately opened fire; he, with equal alacrity, fired in return. A rapid cannonading

took place, and the Dutch soon attempted to carry the place by assault; but a deep fosse intervened between them and the walls, so the action continued until night, and was next morning renewed.

'Shortly, however, upon a simultaneous attack by sea and land, the walls were carried, their defenders dispersed, and the pirate settlement obliterated from the spot. In its place a new fort was erected, and left in charge of a small company, for the protection of the harmless aborigines, and to check the marauding system then active along the coast. A desirable end had been thus effected. A haunt was rooted out, and the limits of piratical enterprise had been confined; but the formidable Rajah Djilolo had fled to the interior, in the enjoyment of a freedom which could not fail to be a curse on the lives, the liberties, and the possessions of many better men. At the commencement of 1825, the rajah was still free. Flying into the impenetrable woods of Ceram, he maintained a barbarous independence, and levied tribute on the industry of the populations around. To subdue him seemed impossible. His tactics defeated their skill. Negotiation was then applied to secure what arms had failed to achieve. The Dutch sent to him a messenger, offering to recognise him as an independent prince of Ceram, if he would acknowledge the protection of their flag. In addition, they promised that if he would accept and abide by this arrangement, his brother, then an exile in Japan, should be brought to Amboyna, whence he should altogether be restored to perfect freedom. Negotiations were immediately opened, and Djilolo appeared inclined to agree, provided he was acknowledged free from all allegiance to the Sultan of Tidor, whom he declared to have confirmed a wicked usurpation by a cruel tyranny. At last, it was settled that he should occupy the southern coast of Great Ceram, under the protection of the Netherlands' government, and he then requested, as a peculiar favour, that authority over himself and his new dominions should be confided to the exiled brother, whom he cared for more than all in the world. That personage, therefore, Prince Asgar, was installed on a Ceramese throne, and the pirate chief became the first in a line of barbarian kings.'—*Ib.* pp. 194—196.

Having described the failure of the European powers to put down this formidable system, the author introduces a somewhat minute account of the career of Sir James Brooke. His representation of the English rajah's conduct is entirely laudatory, and bears all the marks of a one-sided vindication of that gentleman's questionable proceedings. In this we can scarcely be expected to agree with him. We cannot forget the discussions of the last two or three years, and have now before us a long list of charges against Sir James, on which Mr. Hume has a second time, but in vain, demanded a parliamentary inquiry.\*

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\* A Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Malmesbury, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c. &c., Relative to the Proceedings of Sir James Brooke, K.C.B., &c. &c. in Borneo. By Joseph Hume, M.P. London. 1853.



We are aware that Sir James has indignantly repelled these charges, declared that he could have no objection to any inquiry conducted by competent and impartial persons, and publicly announced his determination to 'appeal to the House of Commons and his countrymen' against Mr. Hume's conduct in publicly accusing him. We know, also, that Lord Palmerston and other high authorities have declared themselves in his favour. But until the entire business shall have been investigated by the proper authorities, so as to bring out the real truth, we must receive our author's representations as *coming exclusively from Sir James Brooke's friends*, among whom Mr. Spencer St. John, the author's brother, is to be numbered.

Apart from these controverted matters, our readers cannot be otherwise than interested in this extraordinary episode in the history of the Indian Archipelago. Sir James Brooke, descended from the heir-at-law of Sir Robert Vyner, a Lord Mayor of London in the reign of Charles II., and a courtier of the Filmer school, was born at Hooghly, in Bengal, in 1803,—his father being a civil servant in the East India Company. He was educated in England, and, while a young man, distinguished himself in the Burmese war. He afterwards spent three years yachting up and down the Mediterranean. Being detained by a shipwreck beyond the time allowed for his absence from his regiment in India, he lost his commission. Then, for the first time, he visited the Archipelago, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with the resources, the history, and the social position of the inhabitants. On his return to England he projected a chivalrous plan for rescuing the Archipelago from the curse of piracy. Coming to the possession of a large fortune, on the death of his father, he proceeded in a schooner, well manned and armed, on a private expedition to Java, Singapore, and the north-west coast of Borneo. Ascending the Sarawak river, he visited Muda Hassim, the rajah of that province, and nephew of the Sultan of Borneo, by whom he was courteously received. On a second visit, both chiefs and people are said to have received him with acclamations of welcome. The rajah, who held his principality under his uncle, being harassed at the time by civil war, offered Brooke the country of Seniawan and Sarawak if he would remain. He joined the rajah's army, put his enemies to flight, and saved the prisoners' lives. Without immediately accepting the rajah's offer, he procured a second ship, carried on a trade with Singapore, conducted various negotiations with the rajah, who is here spoken of as having acted with bad faith towards him; but at length, on the 24th September, 1841, he became the acknowledged rajah of Sarawak. Borneo, of which Sarawak is but a small province, had always been divided

into three provinces. One of these was Bruné, on the north-west, of which Sarawak was a dependency. Nearly three-fourths of the island were claimed by the Dutch, who viewed the occupation of so valuable a territory as Sarawak by an Englishman with extreme jealousy. The territory stretches about sixty miles along the north-west coast of the island, averaging fifty miles in breadth, rich in soil, exuberant in productions, well watered, and remarkably salubrious, but sunk into the lowest condition of misery through the vices of the government and the crimes of the Malay. The English rajah's position was one of extraordinary difficulties. He had to contend with powerful natives, interested in the fraud and corruption which ruined the country, with the hostility of the Dutch at the court of the Sultan at Bruné, with the encouragement given to piracy by numerous powerful chiefs, and with the faithlessness and avarice—or, probably, the policy and fears—of the Sultan himself. Sir James Brooke succeeded, amidst all these obstacles, in humbling the Sultan, and, according to our author, whose account we have already characterized as partial,—in moulding the bloodthirsty tribes of a formerly defenceless province into 'a peaceful, happy, flourishing society, with manners, morals, laws, a pride in industry, and an attachment to trade,' with 'little or no crime, where litigation is unfrequent, and the Dyaks have perfect confidence in their ruler.'

Mr. St. John presents us with the following *favourable* picture of the Sarawak administration:—

'The forms of justice in Sarawak are, perhaps, more simple than in any other part in the world. Sir James and his companions meet. Every person of respectability, whether English or native, sits down at a circular table; the prisoner is seated on a mat; the trial commences in the Malay language; every one is allowed to speak in his turn; evidence on both sides is patiently heard, and the decision is given and recorded on the spot. The Dyaks take the most earnest interest in all proceedings of this kind; their minds, we are assured by Sir James Brooke, are equal to the comprehension of them, and, though uncultivated, are not inferior in capacity to those of Europeans.

'It is not to be imagined that the Rajah Brooke is an absolute autocrat in his Bornean dominions. He is rather the president of a republican state—the executive of a self-governing people, but at the same time the director and master-spirit of the whole. When he desires to alter an institution, they sometimes object, pleading their attachment to an ancient custom, and the question is debated. If he *wish* to modify a law as too cruel, or too lenient, or inefficacious, he calls the people together in an open court, and explains to them his reasons. He then desires the chiefs to assemble the tribes in their different towns throughout the province, to consult upon points of legislation, and transmit their determination to him. The inquiry, in

effect, is made,—“Is it your wish that such shall be the law by which you yourselves are to be governed?” and their choice is his decision.’—*Ib.* pp. 345, 346.

In 1845, Sir James Brooke was appointed by Lord Aberdeen the confidential agent of the British government in Borneo, and in the following year a treaty was signed by Omar Ali, Sultan of Borneo, ceding the full sovereignty and property of the island of Labuan and its dependencies to Great Britain, in consideration of the best efforts of the British authorities being used to suppress piracy, and to protect lawful commerce in the Archipelago. The principal value of this peaceful little island, lying near the mouth of the harbour of Berné, consists in its abundant supply of excellent fresh water, a rich pearl bank in its neighbourhood, and extensive mines of coal. Of this island Sir James Brooke is the British governor.

‘The coal of Labuan suggests a notice of the various fields which have been discovered in the Archipelago; for with the prospective extension of steam navigation in the further East, this subject assumes an aspect of the utmost importance. The European governments have, during late years, made careful researches to ascertain the distribution of coal-fields. Abundant supplies have been discovered in the Tennasserim provinces of India, of admirable quality, but apparently liable to spontaneous combustion. On the Malay peninsula, near Pinang, at various localities along the western coast of that region; at Katani, Ayer Ramni, and Bencoolen; at the entrance to the river Reteh, and along the banks, in the Batang Gausal, and the Inragiri, with, it is supposed, the Kampar, in Sumatra, coal of serviceable quality exists, and also in Banka and Madura. In Borneo Proper, on Pulo Keng Arang, near the north end of Labuan, at various places on the west-south-west and south-east coasts of Borneo, at Bunut, on the Pontianah, the country of Banjarmassim, where immense deposits are found, Pagattan, and on the Koti river, mines are already worked to supply the steam navigation of the Archipelago—the Netherlands government alone requiring 10,000 Dutch tons annually. A small field has been found near Makassar, in Celebes, but the coal is of a worthless description. It is said that fine specimens have been obtained from the Philippine province of Albay; but the existing notices of them are slight. In the British possession of Labuan, however, large mines have been opened, and contribute much to the importance of that settlement. Among other circumstances likely to promote its welfare, is the recent discovery of a rich pearl bank on an islet in the vicinity.’—*Ib.* pp. 349—351.

What a strange mixture of nations, customs, and religions do we find at this day in the Indian Archipelago! Small specks of Europeans are widely scattered along the margins of savage tribes, at varying distances from the wild children of the moun-



tains and the forests. The junks of China and the *prahus* of the islanders mingle with the ships of Europe in those distant waters, while the luxuries of Madrid, Amsterdam, and London, attest the wealth of Singapore and Pinang, of Batavia, Makassar, and Manilla. The British establishments, besides those at Sarawak, are at Labuan, Singapore, Pinang, and Malacca. Singapore has a population of 60,000, still on the increase. Its port, where no custom-house has ever existed, is enriched by the traffic of all nations, and crowded with ships of nearly every flag. Pinang equals in activity the greatest of the Dutch settlements. Malacca, though shorn of its ancient glory, still occupies a good commercial position.

The Dutch continue to rule in Java and Sumatra, occupying settlements along the coasts of Celebes, and, indeed, claiming the supremacy over five-sixths of the entire Archipelago—an imposing colonial empire truly, were not the supremacy asserted in many of the islands an empty boast which would be disputed by every government in Europe but their own. The obstructions they offer to British trade are bitterly complained of by our merchants. The Spaniards, still ambitious of dominion in that quarter, have driven the Sultan of Solu to the mountains; but their attempts at colonization in the East have not succeeded. It remains to be seen how the energy of the Americans will tell on the European monopolies in the East, and how far the British prosperity, so decided in the settlements already flourishing, may be extended by the genius of free trade throughout the oriental world.

It did not belong to the author's plan to include the progress of Christianity in his account of the Indian Archipelago. We should be glad to learn that the missionaries of the gospel are, among the heathen, Buddhist, Mohammedan, and nominally Christian inhabitants of those splendid islands, emulating the successes which have thrown so sacred a charm around the groups of the Pacific. At present we have little satisfactory information on this subject. It is one of deepest interest. We shall not lose sight of it, but lay before our readers, when the fit occasion arises, such intelligence as can be drawn from whatever sources may be open to us.

ART. IV.—*The Odes of Horace.* Translated into unrhymed Metres. With Introductions and Notes. By F. W. Newman, Professor of Latin, University College, London. 12mo. London: John Chapman. 1853.

WHATEVER may be the *rationale* of the fact, we hold it to be indisputable that a good translation is one of the rarest things to be met with in literature. We scarcely know one that deserves anything but the most qualified commendation. Even the most important of them all, the English authorized version of the Scriptures, is open to innumerable exceptions, though happily to not many of a serious and perplexing character. Upon this most interesting subject it were beside our present purpose to enter, but we will endeavour to indicate one or two of the defects which attach to most of those translations by which both ancient and modern works, whether in dead or living languages, are solely known to those readers who are only acquainted with their vernacular tongue.

The first of these is dependent on the translator's imperfect knowledge of the literature of the language from which he translates. The estimate formed of the qualifications of a translator has generally been far too low, and the majority of those who have engaged in this work, have unfortunately deemed themselves sufficiently qualified for it by their conscious ability to understand the general meaning of their author. It is hardly necessary to say that much more than this is requisite. A translator should obviously have a full command of the language into which he translates. He should have the taste to steer between that loose paraphrastic rendering which scarcely bears a resemblance to the original, and that servile compliance with the idiomatic peculiarities of a foreign language, which coasts, as it were, along its shore, complying with all its irregularities, and produces a work, the criticism on which would be analogous to that recorded by Moore against a French translation of a modern German work—'he has made it come out of the German without making it go into the French.'

But this is not all. A good translator must have two further and rarer qualifications. The first is a sympathetic insight into the mind and genius of his author; and the second is the recognition of what we deem a literary canon, that the perfection of a translation is the transfusion of an author's ideas, and

even of his verbal felicities, into another language in just that form in which they would have been expressed had their language been the author's vernacular tongue. In a word, the perfection of a translation is indicated by the reader's not perceiving it to be a translation at all. This involves so rare a combination of knowledge and talent, as perhaps to justify the assertion that a perfect translation constitutes the ultimate attainment of literary skill.

Now there are two classes of translators which propose totally dissimilar ends. The one and the higher of these classes attempts so to reproduce the productions of ancient or foreign authors, as to make them as intelligent, impressive, or charming in the adopted language as they were in the original. The second has a more utilitarian purpose. It seeks to help the toiling student, and, by smoothing the ruggedness of his ascent to a wide acquaintance with other literature than that of his own country, to mitigate the acridity of those roots of learning whose bitterness has been said to be proportionate to the sweetness of the fruit.

Professor Newman adopts the latter alternative; his avowed object is to assist the student, while he hesitates, with what we think a very unnecessary modesty, to lay claim to the scholarship and ingenuity which his work exhibits in every page. Still we must honestly affirm that we are not sanguine as to its success. He has adopted a plan almost if not entirely novel; and while we think it by no means attractive, we are fully sensible both of the boldness and the skill with which it has been executed. If it should fail to please, that failure will be dependent not on any deficiency of ability in him, but on the inadequate resources of the English language. Our language, strictly speaking, is not embellished with the ornament of prosody. By this, we mean that our metres, elegant as many of them are, are not reducible to any laws of quantity. By the laws of quantity we intend those by which the length of syllables, measured solely by the time occupied in pronouncing them; is dependent on the structure and function of our organs of speech. This natural law was respected by the ancients, in whose arbitrary metres a vowel before two or more consonants was necessarily long, while a vowel followed by another was generally short. That this was a natural and not an arbitrary law, will be evident from the fact that the syllables containing successive consonants require successive alterations in the position of the organs of speech, the tongue, the teeth, and the lips, which involve their length in point of *time*, apart from any arbitrary laws of prosody. Let the reader, for example, take the two dissyllables, *death-watch* and *dial*; the



syllabic measurement of these is the same; but it will be obvious to every one who has an ear that the word 'dial' is pronounced in far less time than is necessary for the utterance of 'death-watch,' yet these words would be used interchangeably in English metre. In singing rapid passages in English, this defect is particularly observable. To take one of a thousand illustrations we could give; those who know the song, 'We're a noddin,' will recollect the difficulty of the line, 'And the lads love the lasses, and the lasses love lads too.' Even in reading, this defect in our prosody is not less palpable. We take at random the quick and dancing metre of Byron's little poem to Moore, commencing—

' My boat is on the shore,  
And my bark is on the sea.'

The line, 'In this water as this wine,' will sufficiently illustrate our meaning.

The poetry of the French language is far more chargeable with this defect of rhythm. Indeed the French language appears incapable of melodious versification. Its heroic metre consists of four anapaests. A metre beautifully managed in many of our English poems, as for example, the 'Hermit' of Beattie, commencing

' At the close of the day when the hamlet is still ;'

or, as Mr. Moore will persist upon travestying it,

' A cobbler there was and he lived in a stall.'

Let the reader take the two opening lines of the 'Henriade' of Voltaire—

' Je chante ce héros qui règne sur la France,  
Et par droit de conquête et par droit de naissance ;'

and he will find that in the first line the long syllable of the anapaests is a mute *e*, only called into sensible existence by the necessity of the verse, while the short syllables, as the former ones of the word *chante* and *règne*, are naturally long, by the very necessity of human pronunciation.

Amidst these disadvantages, arising out of the fact that our language, strictly speaking, has no prosody—that is, no system of pronunciation founded on the anatomical functions of the organs of speech, Professor Newman has essayed a perilous enterprise. He has attempted to cramp the flowing rhythm of the Horatian metres within the inflexible mould of a novel and yet systematic versification. We believe this to be an impossible task. As a general principle, we may affirm that the English

Language does not admit of it. We have our poetry, and the Romans had theirs, each in a distinct and separate form; nor are we disposed to undervalue our greatest poets in a comparison of them, with the Virgil, the Ovid, the Horace, or even the Homer of antiquity. But to reproduce the ancient lyric poets in anything like a strictly analogous form, as to rhythm and metre, in the English language, we fear is a hopeless task. In saying this, we refer to a comprehensive and sustained attempt. In this we believe the difficulties are insuperable. That it has been beautifully accomplished in a few instances, we do not deny; and we may give as an instance the elegant sapphic translation of the ode of Horace, commencing 'Persicos odi, puer, apparatus,' by the late Mr. Thelwall:

'Sirrah, I hate luxurious tiaras,  
Hate the close-wreathing coronals of linden;  
Hunt not autumnal labyrinths to find the  
    Lingering rosebud.  
'Nor amid hair-bands of the simple myrtle  
Mingle gay flowrets sedulously varied;  
Well the green myrtle decorates my temples,  
    Fervid with Bacchus!'

Professor Newman's rendering of the same ode is as follows:—

'I hate the Persian pomp and nonsense;  
Wreaths tied with linden-bass displease me:  
Boy! cease to hunt, where late of season  
    The roses tarry.  
'To simple myrtle nought officious  
Attach. The myrtle thée my servant  
Well suits, and mé carousing under  
    My scanty vinebranch.

Before examining the translation of Professor Newman, it is due to that accomplished scholar to give his own exposition of the principles on which he has constructed his work. We quote from his preface:—

'That I have wholly discarded rhyme, is not from undervaluing that elegant ornament, but because the attempts of the ablest versifiers convince me that it is impossible to translate a classical poet into English rhymed metre without a great sacrifice of the poet himself and a most undesirable intrusion of that which is not the poet's. I have endeavoured to adopt Stanzas of similar tone and feeling, and proportionate compass to those of the original; but by no means to imitate the original metres. The notions current concerning metre are so vague and confused, that, before I proceed to state why I hold

that to be impossible, and the attempt absurd, some general introductory remarks are by no means superfluous.

'Poetry was once written to be *sung*. The Greeks, whom the Romans afterwards imitated, sang their verses, at first to the lyre, then to a tune. While this was habitual, the *time* occupied by syllables was the most influential force in metre. Moreover, in the Greek and Latin tongues the vowels are so distributed among the consonants, that the syllables without difficulty can be referred to two classes, Long and Short; and, when the music or recitative so required, (as happened in the simplest tunes,) every long syllable might be sounded in the same time as any other long syllable, and every short syllable in the same time as any other short syllable. In the Epic verse, (which was in Duplicate time,) one long syllable was equivalent to two short. Such was the old principle of Musical measures. In it, the accent of words was passed by, as wholly or almost unimportant to metre.

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'Since we now *read*, and no longer *sing*, poetry, Accent is naturally more prominent to the ear than Time; especially in languages which have syllables of every sort of length, and not easy to be distributed into Long and Short. In consequence, we have (almost unawares) changed the meaning of many metrical words which we have adopted from the old Greeks. Thus an IAMB with them meant a foot of two syllables, the former short, the second long: and a TROCHEE was the reverse, the former long, the second short. But English writers mean by an Iamb a dissyllabic foot "*accented* on the second" syllable; and by a Trochee a dissyllabic foot "*accented* on the first" syllable. The words are thus used by analogy only; and if we desire to obviate mistake, we sometimes need to say, "an *accentual* Trochee," "an *accentual* Iamb." Want of attention to this continually leads to confusion, even with learned writers. People confound *long* syllables with *accented* syllables. Yet Accent is so far from lengthening, that it even tends to shorten syllables; as may be seen in the first syllable of *fēmale*. Indeed the English voice cannot dwell on an accented syllable without seeming to drawl.

'German translators of Greek and Latin poetry often profess to reproduce the very metre of the ancients, when in fact they do but invent a totally new and accentual system, having only a certain *analogy* to that from which it is derived. Such a scheme may have merit; but it has to be proved and accepted on its own basis, and cannot claim to be received as the real original. In fact, it is generally found to bear a different character,—perhaps, to be light, tripping or humorous, where the original is grave and stately. I therefore regard it as a fundamental mistake to *wish* to obtain in general such an imitation, though I do not deny that certain of the ancient lyric metres suggest elegant imitations in English.

'Our (accentual) Iambics and Trochaics have no small similarity to the ancient measures so called; though each system has also marked peculiarity of its own, especially in regard to the Cæsuras, or divisions



of the verse. But we have nothing that really answers to the Dactyls and Anapaests of the ancients.

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'I have adopted the principle, that each Latin metre should have *one*, and *only one*, English representative. The English stanza, for instance, which replaces the Horatian Sapphic in *one* ode, replaces it in *all*, and is never used for any other metre than the Sapphic. The ability to fulfil this condition seemed to me an important test of my stanza being really suitable. Moreover, if several English substitutes were allowed, the translator would be tempted to use his freedom beyond what was necessary; and the effect to the reader would be impaired, nearly as though a translator of Homer were to render different books into a different metre. Altogether I am convinced, that to work under the pressure of immovable conditions, if they be not unreasonable ones, produces in the long run the chastest result.'—Preface, pp. ix.—xiii.

We have ventured an opinion that Latin lyrics cannot be effectively reproduced in the English language by any sustained attempt to exhibit them in analogous metres, and we have briefly indicated our reasons for this opinion. Professor Newman has evinced great ingenuity in endeavouring to accomplish this object, and in some instances we must admit that he has succeeded beyond our expectations. As an instance of this we may cite a few stanzas from the stately ode commencing, 'Quem virum, aut heroa, lyrâ, vel acri,' &c.—

'What earlier than the mighty Parent  
Set praise demands? who Gods and Mortals,  
Who Sea Earth World, supremely orders  
In changing seasons:  
From Whom springs nought to Him superior;  
To Whom no like or second liveth:  
Yet, after Him, bold-battling Pallas  
Will challenge homage.  
Nor may I Thee not name, O Liber,  
Nor maid to savage beasts unfriendly,  
And, dreadful with the unerring arrow,  
Thee, bright Apollo.  
  
'Alcides next, and Leda's children,  
I'll sing; one fam'd for steeds, the other  
For victor fists. When o'er the sailors  
Their pure star flashes.  
Adown the rocks the toss'd flood trickles,  
The winds abate, the stormclouds vanish,  
The threatening surge (high Wills obeying)  
Sinks back to ocean.'

This is unquestionably rendered with great felicity, and we

might give a number of other passages, to which every scholar would accord the tribute of his admiration. But Mr. Newman says in his preface: 'I profess to write for the *unlearned* English reader;' and we must honestly declare our opinion that with all the learning and ingenuity and dexterous manipulation which the Professor indicates throughout this work, he fails to represent Horace, as a poet, to the appreciation of those who cannot read and relish the original. We boldly hazard the assertion that this is no fault of his. We are convinced that nothing but an elegant poetical paraphrase can give the *unlearned* English reader any conceptions of the charms of the Horatian muse.

We will support this observation by one or two instances, which we will choose at random. What, for example, will the *unlearned* reader make of the following lines?—

'What the space from Inachus  
Down to Codrus, patriot-victim brave;  
Æacus' descent, and wars  
Fought at sacred Ilium;—tellest thou.  
Chian cask what price will buy;  
Whó the bath will warm, and lend me a home  
Snug against Pelignan cold:  
What the feasthour;—this thou tellest not.'

The coldness with which these lines fall upon the ear is doubtless in part dependent, in the case of the *unlearned*, upon the classical allusions which they would not understand. We will take another instance to which this disadvantage applies in a far less degree. We cannot imagine that even a reader who knows Horace by heart can relish the following translation:—

'Frankincense and harp, with calf  
Duly slain, befit to sooth the gods,  
Heavenly guards of Numida;  
Whó,—from farthest Western region now  
Save restor'd, to messmates lov'd  
Many a kiss awards, but, mindful, none  
More than Lamia cherishes,  
Dear partaker of his schoolboy-hours,  
Dear for gown together chang'd.  
Mark the auspicious day with brilliant white!  
Stint ye not the jars unseal'd!  
Give no rest to feet in Salian tune!  
Bassus shall, with Thracian gulp,  
Equal wine-devoted Dámalis:  
Nór shall roses fail the feast,  
Parsley lasting long, or lily brief.

'Melting eyes on Dámalis  
All will fix; but from her new gallánt  
Nót will Dámalis be torn,  
Winding close as ivy fond aspires.'

There is, it is true, little of Horace's poetic vein in this ode. We will turn to one or two universal favourites, and we think that the lovers of Horace will not only share our disappointment in Professor Newman's rendering of them, but will also agree with us in attributing the defect, not to Professor Newman's want of scholarship, which would be absurd, nor to his want of command of the English language, in which he shows himself unquestionably eminent, but solely to the scheme of translation which he has so boldly, and, in some instances, so successfully attempted. The twenty-second ode of the first book affords, perhaps, a favourable specimen of the translator's taste, but we doubt if even its best passages will not disappoint the reader who knows and loves the original. Nor, perhaps, will the scholar be much less satisfied with the accuracy of the translation. If so much licence is admissible, a poetical paraphrase might, we think, have been given, which should have transfused the spirit of the original into English phraseology and English metre. Professor Newman renders the two closing stanzas into the following words:—

'O place me where in torpid valleys,  
No summer breeze the tree refreshes,  
Or where with mist and Jove ungenial  
The seasons languish;—  
Place me in land denied to houses,  
Too close beneath the Sun's careering;—  
I'll love my Lálagè sweetly laughing,  
And sweetly prattling.'

The translation of the beautiful Ode to Licinius, the tenth ode of the second book, falls, we think, more directly under the criticism we have ventured to pronounce. We confess that we cannot taste the flavour of Horace in the following translation:—

'Licinius! wisely wouldst thou voyage,  
Not alway on the wide sea venture,  
Nor, dreading tempests, hug too closely  
The shore deceitful.  
Whoso the Golden Mean embraces,  
He safe and sober shuns the garret  
With dirt dishonor'd, shuns the palace  
That kindles envy.'



Tempestuous blasts more rudely buffet  
 The mighty pine : with heavier ruin  
 Fall lofty tow'rs : and lightnings shatter  
     The topmost mountains.  
 A heart well-train'd will hope in adverse  
 And fear in happy time—reverses.  
 Jove brings again the ugly winters,  
     But soon removes them.  
 A present ill, lasts not for ever :  
 For sometimes with the lyre Apollo  
 Awakes the silent Muse, nor alway  
     The bow is straining.  
 In times of strait show manly spirit  
 And active zeal ; but when the breezes  
 Too gusty waft thee, then be prudent  
     Thy sail to shorten.'

On the whole we cheerfully concede to Professor Newman the praise of great originality and ingenuity in his translation of the Odes of Horace, and we only pay him a merited compliment when we express a wish that he had extended his labours to the Horatian Epistles, and exhibited to the English reader the excellent ethical principles they contain, and the literary criticisms, almost precocious in the annals of that department of letters, which pervade the epistolary treatise, 'De Arte Poeticâ.' We desiderate this addition the more, because in supplying it the author would have had an opportunity of exhibiting all his mastery of the English language, and all his intimacy with the spirit of Horace, without fettering himself with metres which it appears to us impossible to make acceptable to English taste.

This observation leads us, in conclusion, to observe, that all the ingenuity he has bestowed on his metrical translation will, as we fear, be lost upon the general reader, while to the mere Latin student it would be far more serviceable in simple prose. The Horatian lyrics will charm as long as the language in which they are written shall endure ; but the taste of the present age, a taste which is probably destined to last, is formed on great poetic models, with whose influence over the public mind it is well nigh impossible to interfere. The heroic lines of Pope and Dryden, the blank verse of Milton, the elegiac stanzas and the varied lyric numbers of a hundred British bards ;—these and the occasional sonnet, like the startling pleasure of the cuckoo-note in spring, have secured a faithful constancy of love in the hearts of the Anglo-Saxon race. With these they are content. If ancient and foreign poets are introduced to their literature they insist on the enforcement of a sort of ' Alien

Act,' by which they must be naturalized. The metres of extinct tongues, with all their articulate precision, are to them as skeletons at a banquet. They are content and joyous amid the profusion and the luxury of that modern poesy which adopts all the racy sweetness of the ancient muse, but only as a condiment; and in the plenitude of satisfaction they repudiate the 'symphonia discors' of a latinized English, and shelter their literary inhospitality beneath the maxim of Professor Newman's own poet—

'Omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat.'

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ART. V.—*First Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Process, Practice, and System of Pleading of the Court of Chancery.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1852.

2. *An Act to Abolish the Office of Master in Ordinary of the High Court of Chancery, and to make Provision for the more Speedy and Efficient Dispatch of Business in the said Court,* 15 and 16 Vict. c. 80.
3. *An Act to Amend the Practice and Course of Proceeding in the High Court of Chancery,* 15 and 16 Vict. c. 86.
4. *An act for the Relief of the Suitors in the High Court of Chancery.* 15 and 16 Vict. c. 87.
5. *General Orders and Rules of the High Court of Chancery, issued by the Lord High Chancellor, August 7th, 1852.*
6. *General Orders of the High Court of Chancery, issued by the Lord High Chancellor, Oct. 16th, 1852.*
7. *General Orders, &c. (Fees), Oct. 23rd, 1852.*
8. *General Orders, &c. (Copies), Oct. 25th, 1852.*

THE work is now done; the Master's Office is abolished. All the changes of the last twenty years, great as they have been—so great, indeed, as to have created a really new Code of Chancery Procedure—would have continued fruitless, without this consummation. They all stopped short of the end. They carried suitors more rapidly, and by consequence in greater crowds, into the Master's Office, and there left them.

The law of procedure is now precisely in the position in which the law of real property was in 1833. The acts of that session threw down the old system of conveyancing, and laid broad foundations for a new one, upon which, step by step, a

complete structure has since been continually rising. We have now to inaugurate the new systems of pleading and practice in common law and chancery (if indeed they long remain distinct) with little left us from the old except the fundamental principles of all procedure. The next twenty years will probably witness a similar series of successive improvements, by which the new system of litigation, and the conditions for which it is framed, will become gradually adapted to each other.

We do not propose to discuss in detail a system, of which the mere statement, compressed for professional use, considerably exceeds a thousand octavo pages. We may confess to a belief that its most downright technicalities (we are not speaking of the incompletenesses of jurisdiction accounted for by its history) can be presented in an aspect justifying them philosophically; but we are aware that each particular detail would require an extended explanation so to present it, and that after all they did not in the aggregate do their duty. They might have formed an admirable system for a race of beings living to the age of Methuselah, and possessed individually of the wealth of continents: they did not do for men. We are ordinary mortals, and we rejoice in their downfall. We shall just notice such of the most salient points as are most readily to be appreciated, without resort to technical explanation, or at all events to technical language. And thus limited, we may hope to present a sufficient view, not of the Master's Office only, but of the entire proceedings of a suit in chancery.

We must premise a few words on the distinction between chancery and common law. It is well known that the latter derives itself from our earliest authentic history: and it needs hardly to be inferred in terms that it did not contain within it the resources necessary for the rapidly changing civilization of modern times. An age, for instance, in which the chiefly noted relations were those of lord and villein, could present no analogies to regulate the rights and duties of a joint-stock company. And even within the admitted sphere of the system, its aid was seriously defective. Putting apart its criminal jurisdiction, it is to be said with too much truth that it confined itself to the award of pecuniary compensation for injury actually done. It restored no right, and it prevented no wrong. It enforced the performance of no violated contract: it sustained no trust: it allowed for no accident: and it rectified no mistake. According to our present notions it offered little, and that little upon nearly unavailable terms. It is matter of history that the iniquities of the Star Chamber became possible, because its usurpation was felt to be a relief from the rigours of legal redress.



It was to supply such defects that the Court of Chancery arose. Whenever a suitor could say that he was without remedy by the ordinary course of law, and that it was against conscience he should go without relief, the court proposed to aid him by a procedure adapted to his special exigency. If he was embarrassed by an imperfect knowledge of his right, it compelled his adversary to disclose every particular on oath; if his enjoyment of it was threatened, it prevented the disturbance. If, having purchased an estate, he could not obtain a legal conveyance, the court even went the length of directing an officer of its own to convey in the stead of the true seller. In whatever way his proprietary right was invaded (for to this the Court of Chancery confined itself) it attempted, and to a large extent successfully, to secure him not compensation, but the very right itself.

Remedies so large were not accomplished without at least a co-extensive disregard of the legal forms of procedure. The great anomaly, perhaps, after all, of the courts of law, was their system of evidence. Almost at the same time that a state prisoner would be browbeaten into an admission sending him to the block, the parties to a civil suit could not be examined at all in regard to it, nor could they call a witness who was interested to the value of a shilling. The Court of Chancery treated all parties as the Court of King's Bench treated state criminals. It extorted an answer upon oath to all matters 'relating to' the suit, 'or whereby the truth might appear.' Probably, if we could describe them, our readers would be apt to think it impossible that the means it employed could ever fail. We will try. In the first instance the plaintiff was required to state his case in writing. This statement was originally little more than the concise outline, to which it is now again to be reduced by act of parliament: but it gradually swelled into a full detail of all that the plaintiff thought, knew, or supposed, or believed his adversary might think, know, or suppose, about the subject in dispute. Until recently this was really the 'bill' drawn for him by his counsel. There were appended to it interrogatories, closely searching the conscience of the defendant as to every separate fact stated in the bill. Let it be considered what this involves. It will be seen, on examining any of the sentences of this article, that almost every word of it involves an allegation separable in idea from the others, and susceptible, moreover, of being represented in more ways than one. The interrogatories accordingly proceeded on the principle of analyzing all the complex facts alleged in a sentence into their simplest forms, and requiring an answer to these forms, not only as they were in fact stated, but in every

form of representation of which they might be supposed capable. For instance, suppose the 'bill' to state that on a certain day a deed was executed by certain parties, and of a certain effect set forth. It is obvious that to obtain a precise admission from the opposite party, these particulars must be stated in full and accurate detail. It is no less evident, that among a multitude of small particulars, singly unimportant, some mistake may easily occur in the setting forth. Assuming there to be such a mistake, and all the particulars to be swept into a single question, it is clear that the defendant may safely deny in a lump what is in fact not in the lump true. In order, therefore, to avoid a miscarriage arising from the circumstance (perhaps) of the Christian name of a party being James and not John, the interrogatory as to the execution of the deed grasped every syllable of the allegation; the time, by the year, month, and day, taken separately; every Christian and every surname of every party; the contents, as to their precise terms and their general purport; and by way of making all sure, inquired in conclusion whether 'any and what' *other* deed relating to the matter, at 'any and what' *other* time, between 'any and what' *other* parties, and to 'any and what' *other* purport than set forth ever was executed—or *how otherwise*; three words which we can only trace with any comfort to the era of works of supererogation.

We shall, perhaps, run counter to the common opinion in admitting that this system had in it all but one of the conditions of success. It is true that the same means which contributed chiefly to its value were resorted to for its frustration. The same legal advice which framed the 'bill' was at hand to defeat it, by the superior astuteness of the 'answer.' But the history of the practice itself satisfies us that where the plaintiff was wealthy or determined the strife was unequal. The very exemptions which time accorded to the defendant (the rules arising, for instance, from privileged communications and criminal liability), prove that practically he could be driven to a disclosure. If the interrogatory was evaded the first time, the very manner of the evasion threw light upon the truth, and ensured the required admissions after some delay. The system, we may be assured, did not fatten on its failure. It was as true in Chancery as in engineering, that no defence was impregnable. Sooner or later the breach would come to the strongest wall.

BUT—the costs. It is easy to see that such a process as we have described must lead inevitably to an excessive multiplication of words. The contrivances to defeat evasion all led to endless repetition. The simple form of statement really believed by the plaintiff, and such as an honest defendant

would probably admit, would be ignored by one, evaded by another, and, at all hazards, denied by a third. Hence, further forms of representation (technically called 'charges'); preceded, of course, to give them relevancy, by the statement of the objections they were intended to meet. To such a height did the system proceed that it was the common saying that every 'bill' told the same story three times over.

We need hardly hint that the same influences acted on the defendant. They were, indeed, stronger. What the plaintiff did from prudence, the defendant did from necessity. He was compellable, under pain of imprisonment, to give a direct and positive answer—aye or no—couched in the very words, we might say in the very order of the words, in which the plaintiff chose to frame his interrogatories. To each he was sworn to give a 'full, true, direct, and perfect' answer to the 'best and utmost' of his 'knowledge, remembrance, information, and belief;' and if he knew nothing, he was obliged to set forth his *totum nil* of knowledge with the same particularity. This rigour was undoubtedly essential; for unless the defendant were obliged to answer fully and *ad idem*, he might evade just the point upon which his admission was required, and which by no other means he could fail to admit without perjury. But the ordinary case was, that he (or his pleader for him) wished to represent the facts in an aspect widely different from that presented by the plaintiff. This aspect was made to appear at length in the forefront of the answer; and a defendant of common astuteness might thus contrive to deny, 'saving as appeared,' in this preliminary statement, all the material allegations of the plaintiff's bill. Frequent interpolations (in important passages) of parts of his own case rendered it equally difficult to ascertain what was really admitted, and to use it when ascertained.

All this led to expense, vexation, and delay. There were, as we have said, some exceptions to the rule, obliging the defendant to answer 'fully;' but besides these, he might take a preliminary objection to the manner of the plaintiff's bill. He was not bound to answer impertinent, i. e., irrelevant matter; and by an extension of the principle, relevant matter stated prolixly was equally fatal. The plaintiff's bill might err in both directions: and if the defendant chose to take it, he was entitled to the Master's opinion upon the point before putting in his answer. The theory of this procedure appears to us, upon a careful review of it, unexceptionable: the principles which judges have enunciated in regard to its exercise would charm the heart of a practical moral philosopher; yet it was from beginning to end a flagrant oppression. It decided



nothing, it facilitated nothing, it even cheapened nothing. It simply enabled an astute litigant to fix a heavy fine upon his adversary in the costs of the proceeding. There is a case in the books in which a defendant delayed a plaintiff for some years, by objecting, on the score of 'impertinence,' to three sentences in a long bill, which, together, did not make up as many hundred words. He carried this question from the Master's Office to the Rolls Court, from the Rolls to the Lord Chancellor, and from the Lord Chancellor to the House of Lords; being in every instance cast, and mulcted in the entire expense of every hearing. It was on this occasion that Lord Lyndhurst quoted the *non ego paucis offendar maculis*, with a felicity of adaptation which Horace would have rubbed his hands to hear.

It is not often that the heat of litigation leads parties to such open extremes as these; but opportunities were afforded, more dangerous, because carrying with them some show of reason, by the exemptions to which we have alluded respecting particular classes of interrogatories. It has been a subject of professional remark that cases of this kind have seemed to follow a 'law.' A well-known cause of exemption would lie quiet for years; when all of a sudden the reports of the courts would teem with it, and after leaving a result with which no lawyer pretended to be satisfied, it would as suddenly make way for another, which would run the same career. We cannot enter into detail. It will sufficiently corroborate our sense of the grievous injury thus caused, to state, that by a very recent Act of Parliament, the Vice Chancellor Sir George Turner, under cover of a change in the jurisdiction, practically abolished one large portion of these proceedings altogether.

We foresee that our limits will be closely trenched upon, and must confine ourselves before proceeding to the Master's Office, to two matters, one of which might well be deemed a climax. One was founded in the circumstances to which the Court of Chancery owed its origin; the other in the efforts which it made to insure complete justice to all who were interested in the subject.

We have already pointed out that the Court of Chancery was supplementary to the common law system. On reference to our observation it will be perceived that the same inquiry might require the adjudication of both courts; e. g., a patentee might bring an action at law for the infringement of his right, and could then recover compensation for the injury already done; but if he wished to prevent its repetition he must apply to the Court of Chancery to restrain it by an 'injunction.' In

a simple instance of this kind there was only the objection—a serious one, it must not be forgotten—that the expense was doubled without any corresponding benefit. In different forms the parties made the same statements to both courts. But in more complex cases it was far from easy to decide the proper order of application to the two courts, or, indeed, whether both, and if not both, which, really had jurisdiction in the matter. In a late joint stock company case, the directors resisted the shareholders, who had brought them into Chancery, solely on the ground that they ought to have proceeded at law. This single question occupied twelve days of argument, in the course of which the Vice Chancellor decided against the objection, and the Lord Chancellor, on appeal, in its favour. The shareholders accordingly went to law, and were there met, unless our memory fails us, by the objection that they ought to have gone to Chancery. Our friends of the bar will perhaps allow us to set off this case against that of the somewhat facile jury, spoken of in the books, who acquitted a man of stealing a ‘slop’ on the ground that the article was, in point of fact, a ‘frock,’ and immediately afterward acquitted him of stealing the same article, because, in a second indictment, it was ‘inaccurately described as a frock.’

The want of a concurrent jurisdiction in these cases led to more extended consequences than we have described. A cause fit for Chancery in its inception was found in its progress to involve questions of law or of fact with which that court professed itself incompetent to deal. It sent the one to the common law judges, the other to a common law jury: either step involving fresh counsel, fresh pleadings, and fresh fees of court. It often happened that the first decision was not satisfactory. Lord Eldon and Lord Cottenham have been known to repeat the process three times consecutively, and each time with the same result; and Lord St. Leonards lately refused an application for a *fourth* trial. It is impossible not to feel that such instances as these are mere contests of length of purse.

We confess to approaching our next point with great reluctance. The rules respecting ‘parties’ arose from the great complexity of the cases with which the Court of Chancery sought to deal, and its anxiety that all persons interested should have the benefit of its decree. It was the presumption in causes at common law, but the exception in Chancery, that the case rested upon a single question, or a few connected questions, between two litigating parties. In Chancery, it was the common case that the number of parties might not be far short of fifty, or even a hundred, having no connexion, except

that each had some kind of interest in the subject matter. We shall best illustrate this by a quotation from the admirable report of the Chancery Commissioners:—

‘In order,’ say the Commissioners, ‘fully to comprehend the extent of the expense with which proceedings in suits are attended, it is necessary to bear in mind one of the fundamental rules of Chancery procedure—viz., that a suit shall embrace all parties interested in the result. As, for example,—if there be a complaint of a breach of trust, all the persons interested in the trust-estate must be parties to the suit, and, subject to some modifications made by recent orders, all the persons parties to the breach of trust. It very commonly happens that some of the parties liable have died, and that it is necessary to enforce the claim against their estates, in which case their legal personal representatives, and, if it be necessary to affect their real estates, all persons interested in those real estates, must be made parties. By another rule, if any person joined as co-plaintiff should by any act, or by any conduct amounting to assent or acquiescence, have disentitled himself to relief, all the co-plaintiffs are bound by it, and deprived in that suit of the relief they might otherwise have had; and it is, therefore, considered good pleading in such case to have a single plaintiff, and that plaintiff, if possible, an infant, who cannot by any act, or any omission, have prejudiced his right to relief; the other parties interested being made defendants. By these rules, and from these considerations, it is necessary frequently to have a very large number of persons defendants to a Chancery suit, who may all appear by separate solicitors, and all put in separate answers, and against whom all the proceedings above stated must ordinarily be taken.

‘If in the course of the suit any parties to it should die, it is generally necessary to take proceedings for bringing before the court the representatives of that person. And if a new interest arises after the institution of the suit, as in the case of a subsequently-born child, it is necessary to bring before the court the person entitled to that interest. For this purpose new suits must be begun and proceeded with, by filing what are called Bills of Revivor, or Bills of Revivor and Supplement, or Bills of Supplement in the nature of Bills of Revivor. And if any event has happened since the institution of the suit which it is essential to bring to the notice of the court, that also must be made the subject of a new supplemental suit. These suits have more or less to proceed through the same course of delay and expense as the original suit. In some of these cases a more simple practice has been adopted. . . . This comparatively simple course is, however, attended with considerable expense. In other cases of the transmission of interest or liability, or the acquisition of a new interest, the whole form must be gone through of answering; and the supplemental cause must be heard, and a decree pronounced, at a great expense, although the whole object may be simply to add or substitute the new party as interested in the proceedings.’—Report, pp. 8, 9.

We must pass by many topics, even the ‘bad eminence’ of the



mode of examining witnesses (than which we know nothing worse out of the ecclesiastical courts), and proceed to the Master's Office. For it is to be observed that, except in rare instances, the decree which the successful suitor obtains is not by any means the conclusion of his cause. It is, in fact, little more than a declaration of his right to have relief granted him, and a provision of the appropriate machinery for obtaining it. In nine cases out of ten—perhaps it would be more accurate to say in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred—the processes which we have thus far noticed, supposing them all successfully passed through, simply procure for the plaintiff what is called a *decree to account*, under which each party afterwards produces his accounts, and exhibits his vouchers, and the entire matter is examined; and it *may* happen that the plaintiff is declared the debtor upon the final result, and condemned in the costs of the whole suit from the beginning.

Now, we have no desire to deny that an account between hostile parties—of course having some degree of complication (or it could not be litigated)—and for every item of which legal evidence may be demanded—must unavoidably be a work of time. Even where hostility does not intervene, the experience of our bankruptcy courts testifies that, with every advantage, the most ordinary affairs cannot be wound up in a day.

‘It is scarcely possible that there should not be in many cases, considerable time occupied in winding up an estate. Let any one whose property and affairs are at all complicated, or extensive, consider what time it would take him, if, on a given day, he were to resolve to wind them all up—to get in all debts due to him—to settle and discharge all debts due from him, and to realize all his property, and to have the balance in money or consols. When a person dies having considerable property, and having been engaged in various and complicated transactions, all this has to be done by executors who have not his knowledge—who have not the discretion which he would have to make concessions or sacrifices, and who are obliged to proceed with method and caution. The difficulty is increased when all this has to be done to the satisfaction, and under the direction of judicial officers, who are obliged to act upon formal and legal evidence. But making due allowance for all such considerations, we are satisfied that the system in the Master's Office is attended with unnecessary delay and expense.’—Report, p. 31.

We adopt the whole of this quotation, the last sentence included. As an illustration of our view of its meaning, we should say that, under the late system, we would rather, if plaintiffs, have acknowledged ourselves debtors to the defendant in £5, as soon as we had obtained a decree to account, than have prosecuted a just claim under it, with tolerably clear evi-

dence, for £100. To the initiated, this opinion would be sufficiently justified by a reference to the Commissioners' Report, but a passage or two from the evidence, taken really at hazard, may perhaps be more satisfactory for our present purpose. In page 177, the following questions and answers present themselves; Mr. Lake, a solicitor, being under examination—

‘In August, 1848, the decree was made?’—‘Yes.’

‘And till July, 1850, you were in the Master's Office spending £1000 without arriving at any result?’—‘Yes.’

‘And in December, 1850, the Court ordered the matter to stand over till the 8th of January following, and by the 1st of January the evidence was complete?’—‘Yes.’

Whether the following evidence of Master Brougham throws any light upon the above we cannot tell. We give it as it stands:—

‘In those cellars to which you have alluded, are there many deeds which have been brought into the Master's Office, and left there for safe custody?—I once made an attempt to find a document in the cellars, but the dust was so prodigious, that it was quite impossible to find anything. It was more than two inches thick in some places. There is a strong iron grating window, and all the blacks from Fetterlane and Holborn pass down the area into the cellar.

‘You do not have many deeds left for safe custody?—I should think not many. There were a great number of *things like parchment*, but what their contents were I do not know.’—p. 131.

But to proceed in order. According to the original system of the Court, the Masters (then two in number) attended the judge together during the hearing of the cause; and if any subject of special inquiry arose, one of them investigated it at his own chambers, and brought back the result to the full Court, which thereupon pronounced judgment on the whole matter. The advantages of such an arrangement are obvious. But as business increased, and moreover came to involve a larger proportion of special matter, the Master could no longer find time to attend Court, and confined himself wholly to chambers. But he thus lost the great advantage of knowing, as our idiom happily phrases it, what he was about. It became necessary, therefore, to furnish him with a detailed statement of the specific points of inquiry; thus certainly protecting him by a defined responsibility, but greatly lessening the value of his assistance. It frequently happened that inquiries became necessary which had not been provided for by the directions of the Court, and which consequently could not be proceeded in without further authority. Hence it became the practice in these directions to provide not only for the understood, but

exhaustively for the possible contingencies, the Court contenting itself, in the first instance, with an order putting the inquiry in train, and reserving its final decree until the Master had reported the result.

The proceedings in the Master's office underwent a corresponding change. He now knew nothing of the suit, but that it was his duty to make certain inquiries respecting it. Of the facts to which those inquiries related he had to be fully informed, and it appears to have been deemed proper that he, like the Court above him, should be informed of them in writing. The pleadings which had been used in Court would not answer the purpose. They had been intended merely to prove the right to the decree, and they contained much which was useless, and wanted more which was necessary, to its successful prosecution. Hence arose what was, in fact, a fresh set of pleadings. 'Each item in an account might form the subject of a separate investigation, of a state of facts and counter-state of facts, each of which might be supported by evidence on affidavit, deposition, or *vivâ voce* examination.' Here we have at once a system requiring obviously the firmest control, and in the practical details of which control was unknown. Prolixity was the besetting sin of all documents used before the Master,—a sin usually remediable by mulcting the delinquent solicitor in the costs, but, in this instance, safe from punishment through the want of systematic communication with the 'Taxing' Office.

There was no kind of limit to the subjects thus referred to the Master. He was practically at once an accountant and a judge. He was equally responsible for the correctness of a simple sum in compound addition, and for the decision, subject to appeal, of a subtle point of law. It might be supposed, therefore, that the manner of proceeding before him was devised to meet, as far at least as the thing could be done, the diversified exigencies thus created. We really do not anticipate that the reformers of our day will find in this matter any very serious difficulty. At the time, however, when the system originated, the attempt seems to have been given up as impossible; and the space of one hour, or two, not less, and not more, was inexorably portioned out to each suitor. If, as not unfrequently happened, his matter was over in five minutes, *tant mieux pour le maître*; if it was one requiring a week's discussion, no matter, his case must take its turn with the other business of the office. He must take out his week in scraps of an hour, or two hours at a time, spun out at intervals as he could get them, ranging over a period which we would rather not specify distinctly.

'I went,' says Mr. Weatherall, 'before the Master, on the 12th June instant, and he decided that the defendants



should be charged jointly, and I *only want ten minutes* to check the items in an affidavit against the defendant; but on applying to the Master's clerk, on the 17th day of June, for an appointment, I can only get a warrant, returnable on the 21st day of July next; and the consequence is, that this cause is thrown over the long vacation.' (Qu. 73.) 'We cannot get an appointment,' says Mr. Leech, Qu. 144, 'when we are ready to proceed, but we have to wait for a month or six weeks; and when we get an appointment it may be for a single hour. There is another interval of equal length; and it is in this way that time is frittered away in proceedings, until it becomes tedious and tiresome to take up almost any suit. There is the trouble of reading up the papers again; and, in truth, solicitors are disheartened because they cannot get through the proceedings.' This is the account of a system to which the Masters were bound in no way but by the *vis inertiae* of their own inveterate practice, and from which, as long ago as 1828, Lord Lyndhurst framed an express set of general orders to disenthral them.

Nor was this all. It was practically impossible for the Master either to compel the regular attendance of a reluctant party, or to proceed without him. The defaulter could always in practice enforce a review of all that had been done during his absence; and by taking advantage of an *esprit de corps* in the profession, not without value in its way, he could generally avoid paying the costs of an 'attendance' rendered fruitless by his neglect. Under such circumstances a defendant could always create delay; and delay was too often equivalent to victory. But if the plaintiff could hold out, the time would at length come when the Master made his Report. This Report commenced with a transcript *literatim* of the decree referring the matter to his inquiry. It then named all the parties by whom he had been attended, referred to all the evidence which he had taken, and occasionally to some which he had not, and at length concluded by 'finding' all the facts mentioned in the decree, stating them over again in nearly the same terms as in the introductory part of the Report, only this time a little more lengthily, as beseemed the gravity of the Master, speaking for himself. 'Every warrant, every report, indeed, every proceeding, carried its fee, small perhaps in individual amount, but the multiplication of which pressed heavily on the suitor.'

The Report was not conclusive. It did not profess to do more than to ascertain the facts for the information of the Court; but even as respected these it was not final. Nothing was of more ordinary occurrence than for 'exceptions' to be taken to the Master's finding upon the principal points, and the whole matter to be sent back to his office, with directions to

'review' the Report, when the whole process, if process that could be called where there was no proceeding, had to be endured all over again. The result was again brought back to the Court, which at last pronounced its 'final' decree.

Such *was* a suit in Chancery. We are quite sure that we have exaggerated nothing. We have extenuated, or at least faintly touched on, much: and we have omitted much. We have given, we hope, what we promised, a sufficient view, but certainly not more.

It is a relief to be able to say with so much confidence as we really feel, that the system we have described is at an end. Some of the machinery is retained, but the principle is new. Litigation in Chancery will still be carried on by means of a bill and answer; but as they are now intended simply as a statement of the case on each side, and not for the extortion of admissions from a reluctant party, no temptation to prolixity will counteract the design and natural tendency of the new regulations. As to that large proportion of Chancery business (probably a full half) which does not consist of litigation, but is concerned with the distribution of the estates of deceased persons among the parties entitled, there is no longer a bill and answer of any kind. In the majority of cases a formal summons will lead to an immediate decree. Creditors' suits are now being instituted in Chancery for amounts within the jurisdiction of the County Court judge.

The second great evil which we noticed was the want of complete jurisdiction. This is now abated. Courts of common law now grant injunctions; the Court of Chancery now acts both as judge and jury. We have seen that the old rules respecting parties created expense by increasing their number, and delay by thus adding to the chances of death. The principles upon which those rules proceeded, and the machinery for giving them effect, are both set aside. No plaintiff in a suit will now lose his decree for the fault of his co-plaintiff; but each will be dealt with on his own merits; thus rendering it consistent with good pleading to combine many parties as plaintiffs who must otherwise have been separately treated as defendants. The number of defendants is further reduced by a great extension of the system of representation, whereby one person may stand for any number interested through him or under a common right. Should a party die, the 'new suit' formerly requisite, and the 'comparatively simple,' though 'considerably expensive,' course lately substituted for it are both superseded by an order of the Court, granted of course on evidence of the death. The evidence both of the parties and of the witnesses is now taken under a system combining, probably, as many of the advan-

tages of a *nisi prius* examination as are consistent with adherence to a written deposition. Perhaps it adds some which are liable to be lost in the hurry of a common-law trial. The Judge now takes the place of the Master, and does not disdain to work out his own decrees. He does so, unfettered by the system of 'hour-warrants' which have fallen 'with the Masters, with a perfect acquaintance with the bearing of every point which he has to investigate, and with equal liberty and disposition to extend his inquiries in whatever direction may most speedily terminate his labours.

Even the concise enumeration of the last two paragraphs will show that whether we look to the statement of the case, the evidence in support of it, or the relief granted, the whole proceeding in a Chancery suit has undergone revision. But to appreciate the change, it must be understood that all that we have said has been by way of example only. Underneath this surface, lay an infinite number of petty details, each adding its item of delay and expense, 'small, perhaps, in individual amount, but the multiplication of which pressed' so 'heavily on the suitor.' It was impossible to disconnect them from each other: they have been swept away in the mass.

But little is now left of the old system of Chancery procedure. There has long been growing up with it a less formal system of 'motions' and 'petitions,' and affidavits, intended originally, and for a long time rigidly confined, to such of the proceedings in a suit as were either less important in themselves or more capable of being recalled in case of error. Of late years this system has grown into greatly increased importance, and the legislature has repeatedly prescribed its adoption to the exclusion of the other. The late changes may be described with sufficient accuracy as entirely superseding the old system, and greatly improving the modern growth. We believe there is no more admirable system of practical moral duty than that which the former procedure was intended, but so often failed, to enforce. May the new answer the end!



ART. VI.—*Lorenzo Benoni ; or, Passages in the Life of an Italian.*

Edited by a Friend. Edinburgh: Constable and Co. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1853. 8vo. pp. 505.

WE can, without hesitation, pronounce this elegant volume as the fit clothing of a work of rare, unquestionable, literary merit and interest. As a specimen of English, the style is so uniformly pure, terse, and idiomatic, that it is difficult to keep in mind, even with the help of the foreign manners, and other indications of south Europe, which are never absent, that it is the writing not of an Anglo-Saxon, British or American, but of an Italian. The work certainly shows wonderful mastery of a foreign speech.

It is difficult to say to what class of writings the volume belongs. It is neither altogether a political memoir, nor an autobiography, nor a work of fiction; yet in part it is all these. The substance is personal narrative, running, in its earlier part, through a region with which we are so little familiar, as school and college life in Italy; and in its later periods through one of those political eras, in which we have the budding, the slow growth, and the sudden extinction of an attempted revolution, depicted with all the interest of personal adventure, and all the truth of the most faithful history. At such a time as the present, when we are looking towards Italy with painful regrets and inextinguishable hopes for one of the richest, in intellectual gifts and cultivation of all modern people, any work which exhibits in detail the difficulties and dangers attendant on all those violent efforts, which are at once provoked and defeated by an intolerable tyranny, will meet with more than ordinary attention.

Besides his personal history, which we shall notice presently, the author finds and uses well the opportunity of giving very graphic sketches of the political, educational, and religious aspects of the society in which it was his lot to move; and there are about these an unmistakeable clear honesty and regard to the modesty of truth which give them both force and consistency.

Then, incidentally, he introduces with great skill, such characters as his uncle the Canon, to whose care, according to an established domestic rule, he was sent when seven years old, who appears in the first sentence of the work.

‘Every day, as surely as the day came, when the clock struck

eleven, my uncle the Canon invariably said mass, at which I invariably officiated as his assistant. This ceremony had long lost the attraction of novelty, having been repeated daily for two whole years; and as, besides, my uncle's mass was very long, it is needless to say that I went through it with a feeling of intense *ennui*. So, when, at a certain moment, after having helped the priest to the wine and water, it was my duty to replace the sacred phials behind a curtain on the left of the altar, I never failed, by way of relief, to take, under cover of that same curtain, a long pull at the phial of wine. This was only for the fun, as wine was not with me a favourite beverage.'

The Canon was a weak-minded, rather good than bad sort of man, about sixty, who 'had only one distinct idea in his brain—olives; only one interest in life—olives; only one topic of discussion either at home or abroad—olives. Olives of every size and description—salted olives, dried olives, pickled olives—encumbered the table at dinner and supper, and no dish was served without the seasoning of olives.' Thus steeped in olives, or their produce, the worthy man was possessed with the notion that his presence would put everything to rights; and in a latter part of the narrative he suddenly appears on the occasion of a great family emergency, saying, according to his wont, 'I'll go myself;' when we have him, 'swearing by all the gods that he would disinherit us all, and reduce us to beggary.' Even the Canon's housekeeper, Margherita, deserves notice.

It was while staying with this uncle, that one of Lorenzo's first trials in life occurred, having its origin, as he philosophically remarks, in the circumstance of an old widower, a friend of the Canon's, taking it into his head to marry again. On such occasions, 'it was and still is a custom in these parts, that the widower should gratuitously enjoy a serenade of marrow bones and cleavers.' The irresistible desire to take part in proceedings so congenial to a base taste, and contributing towards the noise by zealously shaking a heavy chain, brought serious consequences to Lorenzo, of which the first was imprisonment in a lone dark cell, prolonged day after day, the young victim being only removed by night to his bed; and the more tantalizing, that the cell, which had been intended for a pantry, adjoined the dining-room, and he could hear his uncle and Margherita's conversation about the viands which he was not allowed to share. So early had Lorenzo become familiar, by experience, with the terrors of imprisonment in solitude and darkness, and the more intolerable *ennui* by which it was attended. Resolved at last to fly from bondage, the boy remains dressed all night, and with the first gleam of daylight starts on his flight. After

a long day's journey, with no food except the grapes which the kind villagers gave him, and a night spent between two stones in an unfinished church, his second day's journey with sore and swollen feet was cut short by his recapture; the Canon and Margherita having passed him, and being in wait at a little roadside inn. Soon after this exploit, and in consequence of it, Lorenzo was recalled home, to be sent to school in Genoa, where his parents lived.

Uncle John, his mother's only surviving brother, is well worth knowing. At the time of Lorenzo's first visit to him after leaving school (or college as it is called) in his quiet, cool, dark, unfurnished house near the Exchange, though a man of 'sixty years of age, his hair, which he wore very short, was still black, slightly sprinkled with grey, which produced a bluish tint, very singular, but soft and agreeable to the eye. I found my uncle reading, and as he bent over his book, I could not help being struck by the noble regularity of his profile, and the pensive expression of his countenance. As I found afterwards, he was a living picture of Leonardo da Vinci.' One piece of advice Lorenzo got on this occasion, from which he seems to have wisely profited. 'You must learn to condense. To condense, my dear fellow, is the great secret of art.' In the volume to which our remarks apply there is hardly a superfluous word; so thoroughly finished and artistic is the work.

Uncle John 'had left his country when very young, travelled over the world, and realized a considerable fortune in commerce. At forty he returned, and never left home since; his turn of mind was very original, and his tone often caustic; he was very kind to individuals, and very harsh towards mankind at large, upon whom he looked with mingled feelings of pity and distrust.' (p. 147.) He proved a true friend to Lorenzo, and although he railed at him and his brothers, and at enthusiastic young men in general, who would not follow the advice of older heads, yet he was kind, and ready to help them out of the scrapes into which he could not prevent them falling. At that era of his experience, when Lorenzo was fanatical and bent on a monastic life, having a special longing for the hood of a capuchin, Uncle John, wisely deferring to the mood of the hour, only expressed his regret that of all orders that one should have his choice, being so dirty. 'It is a fact, my boy, be it from humility, or carelessness, be it owing to their woollen dress, or to their having their clothes in common, or to their wearing no linen at all, or to all these causes combined, capuchins are a sadly filthy set.' Again, when Lorenzo, thus deterred from the capuchins, had a sudden romantic desire to become a missionary among the Chinese, his uncle humorously,



yet sensibly, allayed his enthusiasm by telling him that 'a man cannot become qualified for an apostle in four and twenty hours. You must be pretty well grounded in theology to convert Mandarins, and you cannot preach to them in Italian. Theology and Chinese are then indispensable requisites. But you cannot be admitted to the study of theology until you have gone through your class of philosophy. So this is the course I advise: finish quietly your philosophy, and attend especially to logic, for you will have great need of it. After your philosophy, if you still persist in your ardour for martyrdom, why, you may begin your theology here, or if you prefer setting to theology and Chinese at the same time, we may send you to Rome, where there is the College *de propaganda fide*, established precisely for such studies. Chinese I am told is a tolerably complicated language, so you must not be in a hurry, my boy. Let me see; you are now not quite fifteen; if you receive martyrdom at twenty it will not be too late, I think.' (pp. 153, 154.)

It was a favourite maxim with Uncle John, by which to meet the urgent denunciations either of college grievances or more public wrongs, that these are but the fruits of the tree; that the evil lies at the root. 'Analyze society and tell me where you see those manly virtues, that spirit of self-sacrifice, which regenerate nations.' In consistency, he adds, 'one must take present evil with patience, and give Time leisure to do its work. Let each in his humble sphere try to become better, and render better those around him. There and there only lies the cornerstone of our future regeneration. As for me, my dear friend, when, in the first shop into which I may happen to go, I am only asked the fair price or thereabouts of the article I go to buy, I shall consider my country to have made a more important conquest than if it had given itself all the institutions of Sparta and of Athens into the bargain.' (p. 226.)

In Vadoni, again, we have an instructive example of the flattering allurements presented by the exterior of monastic life to an orphan youth, whose only relative is an old bigoted, miserly uncle, the moving springs of whose life were 'an immoderate love of money, and an intense fear of hell;' and who proposed to reconcile the two by leaving his fortune to the monastery to which he had destined his feeble, unhappy nephew. The vain, hopeless efforts of the poor novice to free himself from the entanglements which were soon to drag him under the irrevocable vow, are very touching.

Before adverting to the characters of Lorenzo's associates in his dangerous political adventure, we must say a few words on

two episodes, which lead us into another region—his loves. These are both sufficiently romantic.

One fine moonlight evening, his elder brother Cæsar, in a confidential moment, disclosed to Lorenzo that it was his practice to go to a friend's house opposite, in which lived a certain young lady, 'beautiful as the sun;' and persuaded Lorenzo to accompany him. But he could not persuade him to look at her; some mysterious fear kept his face averted at the auspicious moment when the fair vision appeared, and he saw her for the first time thirty years later. That was no reason why he should not be enamoured, and to his brother's great contentment Lorenzo became a partner in the boyish affection; and after his example tattooed on his left arm the initial of the adored name—'Emily.' As became them, they entertained her with serenades (which the family discipline made no easy matter); the first and second time with little success, but the third evening with more memorable results; the desired appearance of a white drapery at the window being promptly followed by a shower of water, 'every drop of which, as it fell upon a new hat, pierced' Lorenzo 'to the heart.' 'So ended my first love; and truly, if ever there was a platonic passion, it was this of mine, the object of which I had never beheld. I saw her for the first time thirty years later, when the fair and slender girl of seventeen had grown into a plump, pleasant-faced lady, with gray hair, who little suspected that the bald-headed, middle-aged gentleman who then addressed her still bore on his left arm the half-effaced initial of her name.'

We shall not by an abridgment lessen the interest of the second tale of love, which is undoubtedly striking enough, and will afford abundant opportunities for admiration or censure. It is no breach of confidence, however, to whisper the name of Lilla; of which our readers may make what they can. Nor are we precluded from hinting that there wants not all the complication to be desired—love, jealousy, hatred, revenge, repentance, reconciliation, a rival, a duel. While we have not the author's own word for it, we incline to the belief that this part of the story cannot be held as a transcript of pure fact and experience, but has been artfully introduced into the narrative as the fitting complement of a personal history which would not consent to reveal itself in reference to such sacred relations. However that be, the story of Lilla is full of life and thrilling interest.

Before speaking of his elder brother Cæsar, who exerted so great an influence on Lorenzo as to determine his vocation in life, in a few words we must describe their parents. Their father is

represented as stiff, cold, and distant towards his children, discouraging or repelling any approaches to familiarity or confidence, and when anything went wrong breaking out into violent fits of passion, the consequences of which were often serious and lasting. Abroad he had the character of being a pleasant, cheerful, intelligent companion; but at home seems to have been most unamiable. As was to be expected, the world's reading of the riddle was, that the worthy man was cursed with very undutiful children, and was therefore much to be pitied. Their mother, on the other hand, exhibited, amid many trials, all that is most beautiful, kind, and womanly; she was ever patient, meek, gentle, and loving, doing what she could to allay the storms which she was unable to avert. 'Let me say it with filial pride, my mother's character was no common one. Its distinguishing feature was a piety so true, so real, so humble, that she scarcely knew herself to be pious. Hers was a spirit that never flinched before daily self-sacrifice. Such a woman, after the first outburst of agony, would know how to control the evidences of the emotions of a heart as tender as ever beat in woman's breast; and so indeed she did.' (p. 422.)

Like Lorenzo, Cæsar was adventurous, romantic, and deeply passionate, and when Lorenzo returned home from school, a very close and earnest friendship sprang up between them. They read, they talked, they lived in fairy-land together, making actual quest of the wonderful hidden treasures disclosed in the 'Arabian Nights.' Nay, the 'Adventures of a Flying Man' suggested to Cæsar the bright idea of making wings; but the timely loss of the hoarded coins, which were the only means of purchasing the oiled silk, which was found absolutely necessary to the success of the adventure, enabled them to retire out of this scheme without any great loss of honour. 'So for want of money we were obliged to go without wings.'

But the leading spirit of the little society was Fantasio.

'He was certainly the most fascinating little fellow I ever knew. Fantasio was my elder by one year. He had a finely shaped head, the forehead spacious and prominent, and eyes black as jet, at times darting lightning. His complexion was a pale olive, and his features, remarkably striking altogether, were set, so to speak, in a profusion of flowing black hair, which he wore rather long. The expression of his countenance, grave and almost severe, was softened by a smile of great sweetness, mingled with a certain shrewdness, betraying a rich comic vein. He spoke well and fluently, and when warmed upon a subject, there was a fascinating power in his eyes, his gestures, his voice, his whole bearing, that was quite irresistible. His life was one of retirement and study; the amusements common with young men of his age had no attraction for him. His library, his cigar, his coffee; some



occasional walks, rarely in the day time, and always in solitary places, more frequently in the evening and by moonlight,—such were his only pleasures. His morals were irreproachable; his conversation was always chaste. If any of the young companions he gathered round him, occasionally indulged in some wanton jest, or expression of double meaning, Fantasio—God bless him!—would put an immediate stop to it by some one word, which never failed of its effect. Such was the influence that the purity of his life and his incontestable superiority gave to him.

‘Fantasio was well versed in history, and in the literature not only of his own but of foreign countries. Shakspeare, Byron, Goethe, Schiller, were as familiar to him as Dante and Alfieri. Spare and thin in body, he had an indefatigably active mind; he wrote much and well, both in prose and verse, and there was hardly a subject he had not attempted—historical essays, literary criticisms, tragedies, &c. &c. A passionate lover of liberty under every shape, there breathed in his fiery soul an indomitable spirit of revolt against tyranny and oppression of every sort. Kind, feeling, generous, never did he refuse advice or service, and his library, amply furnished, as well as his well-filled purse, were always at the command of his friends. Perhaps he was rather fond of displaying the brilliancy of his dialectic powers at the expense of good sense, by maintaining occasionally strange paradoxes. Perhaps there was a slight touch of affectation in his invariably black dress; and his horror of apparent shirt-collars was certainly somewhat exaggerated; but, take him all in all, he was a noble lad.’—pp. 189-90.

Gifted with intense feeling, cultivation, refinement, intelligence, activity, political aptness, or ready practical power of putting into shape and effective action the machinery at his command; bold, true, generous, noble minded—such are the sort of qualities here ascribed to Fantasio. If they lead any of our readers to think of Mazzini, perhaps they will not be far from the truth; for in such terms do his friends speak of that remarkable man, here suffering exile, with so many of the best of his countrymen, for the good cause of freedom, and regarded on all hands as the head of the republican movement in Italy, now, with their long experience of constitutions abandoned with shameless perjury, the only hope of the liberal party. It is curious to observe, that it was one of those licensed military insults, committed, in this instance, against one of Lorenzo’s fellow students, which have been lately extended to some of our own countrymen in Italy, which first brought Lorenzo and his brother into acquaintance with Fantasio, whose cordial reception, and ready co-operation with a view to redress, was the beginning of a deep, enduring friendship. On the same occasion, Lorenzo first became known to the police as a man suspected of love of justice and independence, when he appeared as one of a deputation to the authorities to complain of the

wrong which he had witnessed. It is needless to add, that they got no redress; but were told by the director of police, 'that they might thank his moderation first, and, secondly, the respectability of their families, that he had had us summoned before him, instead of sending us straight to prison,' a threat with which he put down all attempts at remonstrance. 'Four and twenty years later, when things had fortunately changed for the better in Piedmont, one of my friends employed at the police communicated to me a secret note, entered upon their official books, and bearing the date of the day on which I had thus appeared before the director. The note runs thus:—"Lorenzo Benoni, hot-headed, talented, romantic, *reserved*, to be looked after." I suppose that my two colleagues each got a little memorandum of the same kind for their share.'

One other of the conspirators may be just named; Vittorio, a young artillery officer 'of two and twenty, strikingly handsome. No man ever realized in my eyes as he did the type of a hero, both in body and in mind.'

Such were the principal associates with Lorenzo Benoni, in the well-devised, perhaps, yet futile, and, in its results, to most of the conspirators, disastrous revolution. We shall now revert for a little to his early history, and show what sort of preparation had, during his younger years, laid the foundations of the character which afterwards appears in its maturity.

We have already had one glimpse of his boyhood, disclosing premature familiarity with unkindness and wrong, during his residence with his uncle the Canon. During his last year at school, which is narrated in most interesting detail, we find his life made miserable (like that of many a sensitive and noble youth) by the heartless tyranny of Anastasius, who, with the support of a couple of 'tall, strong, and stupid' executioners, domineered ruthlessly over the boys of his division; robbing them with one hand, and with the other repressing all attempts at resistance, and thus well illustrating the manner of a government of brute force, with which they were, later in life, to become more familiar. Tyranny, like every other evil thing, can only live by being associated with some influence better than itself. So here the wicked courses of Anastasius unhappily had the sanction and support of the handsome, rich, and generous Prince d'Urbino, 'whose naturally good disposition had been spoiled by the cringing partiality of the superiors and the insinuations of flatterers, who are no less plentiful at school than in the world.'

The opposition to this well-established despotism was at first represented only by Lorenzo and his dear young friend Alfred. Thus he writes of himself:—

‘At thirteen, I was already more grave and thoughtful than most boys of that age. This disposition, scarcely natural to one so young, arose from an extreme, and somewhat morbid sensitiveness, which early brought me acquainted with suffering. The slightest thing affected me deeply—a failure in my class, a harsh word from a professor, a quarrel with a schoolfellow, would cause me a passionate flood of tears and violent palpitations of the heart, and deprive me of sleep and appetite. The consciousness of this morbidly sensitive disposition rendered me a peaceful being, rather indolent, carefully avoiding noise and bustle, and loving quiet above all things.’

Thus unwilling to encounter the anxiety and efforts implied in a struggle with this system of wrong, to which efforts he was yet continually impelled by the voice of his better genius, an incident so insignificant as the violent death of a sparrow determined Lorenzo’s course, and set in motion the energies which achieved the utter overthrow and severe chastisement of the tyrant, and established a fully appointed republic, which was inaugurated with great solemnity. In the forethought, preparation, anxious search for trustworthy associates, gradual disclosure of the purpose, impatient waiting for the right opportunity of striking the final blow, and in the result of all these, which is recorded in these pages, we have among boys the elements and mode of a more serious revolution among men. The same intense hatred of injustice and love of liberty as the springs, reluctance to enter into the quarrel, but being in it a firm resolve so to conduct himself that the offender may beware of him; wise foresight of the requisite means, power of attaching important allies (for, after a double combat, first in poetry, then in personal prowess, even the Prince was brought over to the side of the patriots), of biding the time, of snatching the opportunity, by well considered sudden effective action. The manner in which the whole plot is conceived, disclosed, and put in execution, is told with great art; and one becomes quite absorbed in the interest of the struggle.

It suggests how important a part in political education may be contributed by the free, manly system of our public schools; what lessons of practical wisdom and of the necessity and means of combination may be there acquired, of which valuable fruits are reaped in manhood. If, even in such a school as the Royal College of Genoa, the whole plan of which was devised to repress independence, and promote obsequiousness in the pupils, Lorenzo was able to get such lessons in political life, how much more must these be learned at Eton, Rugby or Harrow!

‘The Royal College was under the direction of the Reverend



Somaschi Fathers, one of the monastic orders devoted by their institution to the education of youth, and was governed according to the following hierarchy:—

‘A Father Rettore, sovereign power, without control or appeal, Czar and Pope in one. A Father Vice-Rettore—*locum tenens* of the first in case of absence or illness.

‘A Father Ministro—the real executive power, everywhere present, and meddling with everything.

‘Last of all, the Prefetti, or Superintendents. A prefetto was placed over each division, and never left it night or day. At table, in the school-room, at church, in the playground, the inevitable prefetto was ever there, ever everywhere. During the night, from his bed, placed at the upper end of the dormitory, he commanded the whole room at a glance, and watched that silence and order should not be broken.

‘I must add, that the irksome and enslaving duties of prefetto were so ill remunerated, that none but a starveling of the lowest order of priesthood would have accepted the position. They were generally men without cultivation or instruction of any kind, and pretty well justified our school expression, that their tonsure was taken as a ticket of exemption from the plough or the conscription.

‘In this establishment I was an inmate for five long years, of which God forbid that it should be my intention to give any detailed account. The two first may be thus summed up,—much misery of body and mind, chilblains, blows, an angry, ugly face, requiring some impossible task, and frowning and scolding to my infinite terror, and a lovely, sweet face smiling on me every Thursday (the day for visitors), and, to my infinite comfort, whispering words of tenderness and of encouragement.

‘As easily and summarily may the next two years be disposed of, by saying that matters went on mending slowly but steadily; that the tasks given me became by degrees less impossible, then easy enough, then very easy; then I made a friend, and grew, in course of time, into a person of some consequence in our little community. The fifth and last year alone remains, on which I beg leave to expatiate a little more at length.’—pp. 16, 17.

It was during this last year that the occurrences took place which we have already noticed. Nor must we omit to mention the occasion of Lorenzo’s *second* imprisonment. Mysteriously summoned one day before the Father Rettore, a book was produced, which had been found in Lorenzo’s desk, and very solemnly shown to him, with a copy of the ‘Index Expurgatorius,’ the old priest’s trembling finger pointing to the title—Milton’s ‘Paradise Lost.’ To prison, therefore, Lorenzo was sent.

Leaving the Royal College triply crowned with laurels, and burdened with praises and more substantial prizes, Lorenzo, destined to the study of the law, entered the Seminary (the name given to an establishment for the education more parti-

cularly of young people destined to the church) to complete the requisite two years' attendance on the class of Philosophy.

After the insurrection which broke out in the Sardinian States in 1821, and the proclamation of a constitution, Austria had intervened, as usual, and had restored pure and entire despotism. The youth in the university had been among the foremost in this revolution, and in consequence the Universities of Turin and Genoa were closed. When they were reopened, so numerous were the applications for admission that the government in its fright (and in order to prevent the students' meeting freely) appointed the Lectures to be given, not in the University, but in the respective houses of the professors. When the extreme smallness of some of these is added to the more obvious considerations, the absurdity of such an arrangement is apparent. Farther, the admission of students was clogged with such conditions as to form an insuperable bar to large classes of citizens, who were thus necessarily excluded from the liberal professions. While our own government are anxiously considering what they can do to facilitate education, both in primary schools and in the universities, it is not a little instructive to observe a paternal government working in the contrary direction, and studying how much can be done to discourage the attendance of pupils at the universities. The details on this subject contained in the volume under consideration cannot be here repeated; but as an indication of their extent and nature, it may be mentioned that every applicant for admission had to produce not fewer than *nine* certificates, four of them from his parish priest, attesting that the bearer had regularly attended at church, at confession, and particularly on all festivals. Last of all was required, from the acting commissioner of public instruction, his *admittatur*, which was good for three months only; when an application for its renewal was necessary, and further certificates must be obtained. 'Students must be kept down' was the consecrated phrase, which justified all kinds of indignity.

In the clever picture of M. Merlini, who somehow was always the acting commissioner when Lorenzo had to apply in that quarter, we have an apt illustration of the sort of annoyances to which students were exposed. The tendency and purpose of the system may be stated in the author's words. 'The aim was to form machines not men. The university was like a huge press destined to squeeze out of the rising generation all independence of spirit, all dignity, all self-respect; and when I pass in review the noble characters, which, nevertheless, have escaped from this bed of Procrustes, I cannot help thinking with pride what strong moral elements our much-slighted

Italian nature must possess, to come forth pure and vigorous from such a deleterious atmosphere.' (p. 180.)

Notwithstanding a year's rustication, to which Lorenzo was unjustly subjected on the ground of disorderly behaviour, and even insubordination at the church service, which, after the university had been opened, was compulsory on all students, although on that particular day he had been playing truant; by the help of a very ingenious mode of flattering the professors, which he tells us none of them could resist, but which we shall not tempt any of our readers to copy by transferring his account of it into our pages, Lorenzo obtained all the necessary certificates and completed his courses with credit; becoming a lawyer, while his brother Cæsar became a doctor; but, so far as we hear, the lawyer had never any clients, nor the doctor any patients. For, alas! their career was to be suddenly and prematurely closed. One day Fantasio disclosed to the brothers that he had at last discovered the means of their country's deliverance, which had been the constant theme of their confidential and familiar conversation, ever since injustice and oppression had begotten in them the spirit of revolt. The history of the Greek Revolution told of the beginnings and successful establishment of a secret association called *Hetaireia*; which, founded by three obscure young men, had spread rapidly to all points of the territory, and made its way to all classes. Such an association it was resolved to found for Italy. Already there had been a secret society, which originated in the Neapolitan States, the members of which were known as *Carbonari*; and this institution to some extent interfered with their project. Into all the complications of the conspiracy we cannot enter. Its history is well told, and full of interest. Suffice it to say, that among its members, had come to be numbers in all parts of the country, of all classes, and of every age. Once and again it was thought the time had come when the final blow was to be struck at tyranny, and a republic established. It was not yet to be. Accident and the faithlessness of a prisoner disclosed a little; false promises, tortures, forged depositions—the ordinary means employed in such cases by the government—disclosed more; and one night, towards twelve o'clock, there was a violent ringing at the door, a body of carabineers entered, and Cæsar was arrested and committed to prison; from which he never came out alive, or only came out to die; for a mystery hangs over his fate. Fantasio had been out of the country some time before, although still in constant correspondence with his friends in Genoa. Preliminary investigations took place, resulting in the conclusion that there were not sufficient grounds for a trial; and



without any trial he was sentenced to banishment. Many others had been arrested, especially in the army, where the conspiracy had widely extended. For a while the association held together; but, distrust, discouragement, terror, destroyed its efficiency.

‘Alas! we had done to the best of our powers to guide the vessel into a safe port; but it was otherwise ordained, the vessel was sinking fast. What more could we do than sink along with it? This we conceived to be our duty, and we stuck to it. Oh! what days of intense agony were those! I cannot think of them without shuddering, even now. How often did I envy the fate of Cæsar! How often at night when I laid me down, weary and despairing, did I hope, earnestly hope, that the carabineers would come for me, and end my misery!’

‘I have said above, that the rumours of revelations made by some of the prisoners were well founded. Alas! it was but too true; some of our friends had not been proof against the tortures inflicted upon them. Honour to those who were enabled to resist! but let us not be too severe on those who yielded.

‘I shall borrow some details illustrative of this subject from a work already cited.\*

‘The unhappy prisoners were systematically weakened by insufficient and unhealthy food. They were startled from their sleep at night by appalling and lugubrious sounds, voices called out under their windows, “One of your companions has been shot to-day, and to-morrow it will be your turn.” . . . . . Sometimes two friends were placed in contiguous cells, and permitted to communicate with one another. Several days would elapse, during which certain ill-boding hints would be dropped to the one whom it was wished to impress, concerning the impending fate of his friend and fellow-prisoner. Shortly afterwards, the door of the neighbouring cell would be noisily opened, a sound of steps would be heard, followed by a death-like silence, and presently a discharge of musketry in the court of the prison! By such means was it that avowals or revelations, often false, were extorted.’—pp. 415, 16.

What a picture does this volume present of the political state of the country. What Piedmont then was, all the rest of Italy is now. Personal liberty disregarded, correspondence violated, justice corrupted, the press silenced, falsehood established, the base accounted honourable, animosities encouraged; in the pregnant words of Mr. Gladstone, ‘the government had set up as a system the negation of God.’

We know that judgment awaits it; and while we cannot, without deepest pain, reflect on all the noble lives that have fallen in the struggle, and the bitter sorrows poured out for

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\* *Storia del Piemonte*, di A. Brofferia.

survivors, let us never cease to cheer on those to whose hands the good work may be committed of cleansing the Augean stable, and setting up a new, better, because righteous, order in Italy.

Lorenzo escaped. By a fortunate accident the name of a brother (also a lawyer) was substituted in the warrant of committal for that of Lorenzo; and not being involved in the conspiracy he quietly went to prison, while the other left the country. After terrible sufferings and strange escapes, told with much power and truth, he reached France, and found himself an exile, but in Fantasio's arms!

There we must leave him; having no right to lift the veil with which he has seen fit to cover an honoured name. The historical veracity of the book is quite unimpeachable; and the interest of the narrative is admirably sustained. It is very seldom one meets with a volume to be so cordially recommended to the perusal of old and young. Wise, virtuous, noble; cultivated, refined, matured by sorrows, is the mind which gave it birth. Let it go forth to amuse, to teach, to warn, to encourage, to comfort; in all ways to do good!

If it help any of the young whom it interests to enter with sympathy into the boyhood of another people, differing greatly in habits, education, subjection to the power of impulse and passion, yet showing everywhere the oneness of our humanity; if it teach rulers that their unfaithfulness, injustice, selfish disregard of the true generous longings of better men, are the prolific roots of revolution, or, on the other hand, warn any of those impetuous, but too often rash, undisciplined spirits, who look more to such fiery tempests than to the constant force of truth, patience, goodness, to achieve the desired deliverance for themselves and their country; if it encourage any faithful, devoted labourers to persevere in a work which demands so much time, constancy, wisdom; if it have a word of comfort for any of the sufferers who are even now draining the bitter cup—whispering to them that it may be over these many bodies of the fallen that freedom is ere long to march to victory and possession; if it have a lesson for any of these, the story of Lorenzo Benoni will not have been written in vain.

ART. VII.—*Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche von ihrer Gründung bis auf die Gegenwart.* Dargestellt von Philipp Schaff, Professor der Theologie im Predigerseminar zu Mercersburg in Pennsylvania. Erster Band: Die allgemeine Einleitung und der erste Periode, vom Pfingstfeste bis zum Tode des heil. Johannes. (History of the Christian Church, from its foundation to the present time. By Philip Schaff, Professor of Theology in the Divinity School, Mercersburg, Pennsylvania. Vol. I. The General Introduction, and the First Period, from the Pentecost to the death of St. John.) Philadelphia: Schäfer. London: Williams and Norgate. 1851. 8vo. pp. xvi. 576.

2. *Die Kirche in Apostolischen Zeitalter und die Entstehung der New-testamentlichen Schriften.* Dargestellt von Dr. H. W. J. Thiersch. (The Church in the Apostolic Age, and the Origin of the New-Testament Scriptures. By Dr. H. W. J. Thiersch.) Frankfurt: Herder und Zeimer. London: Williams and Norgate. 1852. 8vo. pp. xxiv. 372.

3. *Das Apostolische und Nachapostolische Zeitalter, mit Rücksicht auf Unterschied und Einheit zwischen Paulus und den übrigen Aposteln, Zwischen Heidenchristen und Judenchristen.* Von Dr. G. V. Lechler. (The Apostolic and the Postapostolic Age, with reference to the difference and agreement between Paul and the other Apostles, and between the Gentile and the Jewish Christians. By Dr. G. V. Lechler.) Harlem, 1852. London: Williams and Norgate. 4to. pp. 356.

CHRYSOSTOM's complaint of the general neglect of the 'Acts of the Apostles' by the Christians of his day, was certainly not one of those random accusations which sometimes drop from the pulpit or the press, seemingly more with the view of suggesting the peculiar merits of the expositor who drags forth from its dust the slighted casket of jewels, than from any very painful sense of the justice and necessity of the rebuke. The fact is so entirely in accordance with all that is known of the state of the church in his age, that the consciences of the great preacher's hearers must have been as forcibly struck with the truth, as we at this distance of time are with the *naïveté*, of the impeachment. Of course we do not mean to insinuate that Chrysostom was one of those who, after they have themselves taken away the key of knowledge from the laity, are none the less prone passionately to anathematize the people



that know not the law. He was on all occasions, as even Jesuit effrontery dares not deny, the sturdy advocate of an open Bible for all. The Christian commonalty of his age, although they had long been nodding at their posts, had not as yet been robbed of the palladium which they guarded so ill, and the good father for one would have shuddered at the thought of being a party to so heinous a sacrilege. Still, when we remember the glaring discrepancy between the church, whose rise and early progress are traced in the Acts of the Apostles, and that of Chrysostom's times—which yet was ever boasting of its apostolic character—his censure of his contemporaries loses little of that charming simplicity which would grace a similar objurgation in the mouth of a modern cardinal. What possible relation, save one of flat contrast, could be discovered between the eucharistic meal in which the first Christian brotherhood commemorated the death of their Lord, and the 'tremendous mysteries' in which the white-stoled priests of the Anastasia were wont to immolate afresh the heavenly Lamb upon their altars? Wherein did the converts of Pentecost resemble the Christian mob of Constantinople, ever ready, as Chrysostom is always complaining, to leave him in the empty cathedral, like John the Baptist crying in the wilderness, in order to feast their eyes on the luscious scenes of the circus? How hard to trace the connexion between the plain pastors who in apostolic days fed the flock of God, not for filthy lucre's sake, but of a ready mind, and the greedy and ambitious prelates who hunted for preferment in the purlieus of the Byzantine Court! Or, again, between the loving but earnest conference of the messengers from Antioch with the apostles, elders, and brethren at Jerusalem, and the boisterous and waspish synods of Chalcedon and Ephesus! When Luke wrote, those angels the nuns, with their crowns of virginity, were still *in nubibus*, and no choirs of holy monks irradiated the primitive upper rooms. Not a glimpse was to be caught in his pages of vestments, or liturgy, crosier, or mitre, or thurible, or a hundred other luxuries, without which the daughter of Zion would now have deemed herself left like a cottage in a vineyard, or a lodge in a garden of cucumbers. Had not the church long before parted company with the 'Acts of the Apostles,' she had never come to be tricked out in such harlot frippery as she was now proud to wear. And to expect her, in the high fever of estrangement from her Lord, to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest, the simple and touching story of the days of her espousals to Christ, was, for one who, like Chrysostom, was himself a party to her fall, a curious feat of self-deception. The forgers, who about the same time put in circulation the Apostolical Constitutions, knew the

taste of the times better. They were aware that it asked for something very different from the inspired narrative of Luke, and they catered to it accordingly. Nor can it be doubted that *their* Acts of the Apostles must soon have become far more popular both with priests and people than *his*. It is worth remembering that the ideal church of the Oxford divines is not only convicted by the testimony of its brightest ornament, Chrysostom, of having slighted above all other books of the New Testament that one in particular in which an inspired draughtsman lays down the plan followed by the Divine Builder in the erection of His spiritual temple, but also of having palmed upon the world a wretched counterfeit instead. Like apostate Israel, she had committed two evils. She had forsaken the fountain of living waters, and hewn out unto herself a broken cistern. So utterly remote from the truth are the boisterous and bold assertions with which our ears are ever being dinned, of the scrupulous conscientiousness with which the Byzantine church was wont in all things to stick to Apostolic precedent, that we catch her in the very fact of thrusting into a corner the shekel of the sanctuary, and of substituting in its place a false and illegal standard.

Of course, as the ideal church, worshipped on the banks of the Isis, developed into that of Rome, the estimation in which the 'Acts of the Apostles' was held was little likely to increase. By some few recluses in the cloister it may have been studied with wondering gaze, and by the Paulicians, the Waldenses, the Lollards, and other protesting sects, it was, doubtless, highly prized. But for all practical purposes it was entirely superseded by Gratian and the Bullarium, and for any real influence which it exerted upon the ecclesiastical institutions of those dismal centuries, it might as well never have been penned.

The Reformation restored the Scriptures to the Christian people, and the emancipated human mind, refreshed with the baptism of the Spirit, eagerly plunged into the investigation of the long-buried treasures. The slighted book which had avenged the insults of a thousand years by revolutionizing Christendom, and dethroning its triple-crowned monarch, was studied with an ardour which had never been bestowed upon it before. Of course the 'Acts of the Apostles' came in for a certain share of the awakening attention of the church. Nor can it be doubted, that had the mighty impulse of the sixteenth century propagated itself only a little longer, this portion of the Word of God must soon in its turn have come to be regarded with as affectionate an interest as from the beginning of the movement had gathered round the great doctrinal epistles of Paul. For the task implied in a radical reformation of Christendom was two-

fold. It had to restore not only the *religion*, but also the *church* of apostolic days. The former work was nobly accomplished. But, alas! ere the latter, which of course could never have been achieved apart from a profound insight into the import of the 'Acts' had been fairly entered upon, a reaction commenced in the bosom of Protestantism itself, which soon enabled Loyola to dictate to it limits, impassable ever since. Makeshift ecclesiastical establishments, hastily huddled up, became everywhere the order of the day, and the Puritans, who with an honest, but only partially enlightened zeal, were for carrying the Reformation further, were disgusted to find their natural allies in this warfare transformed into their bitterest foes.

The intestine controversies of Protestants respecting church-polity, which were the result of the turn thus taken by affairs, have ever since afforded the chief stimulus to the study of the 'Acts.' Hence it might have been expected that, at least in England and America, where these controversies have always been most rife, something considerable would have been accomplished towards the elucidation of its pages. But if any of our readers are acquainted with a really satisfactory commentary on this book of Scripture, written by a member of either branch of the great Anglo-Saxon family, we must confess that he has us at advantage. The leading texts at issue between the various ecclesiastical parties have doubtless often been treated with great learning, skill, and acuteness; but for any masterly exposition of the book as a whole, we are, as it seems to us, still to seek. Perhaps the best in our language, all things considered, is the translation of Olshausen's, which is by far the worst he ever wrote. Amongst the works of the kind produced by his countrymen, that of Meyer seems to have generally held high rank, while those of Heinrichs and De Wette, notwithstanding many serious drawbacks, have each their peculiar merits, and their respective circles of admirers. Even in Germany, however, comparatively little has been done till very recently\* for the Acts. Nor is it very likely that the deficiency would even now have been met but for an occasion which has furnished to the German divines an incentive to the comprehensive study of this book, more urgent even than that which has usually impelled English and American theologians to so thorough a discussion of a few isolated texts.

We allude to the attacks of the new Tübingen school, headed by Dr. Ferdinand Baur and his able coadjutors, Drs. Zeller, Schwegler, and Schneckenburgher, upon the primitive records of Christianity. These modern Marcionites start, like their ancient

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Dr. M. Baumgarten's elaborate commentary is entitled to a separate review, which we hope shortly to furnish.



prototype, with the supposition of an irreconcilable antagonism between the original apostles and Paul, which, according to them, once only, and then but for a moment, assumed even the semblance of a mutual understanding,—viz., in what they are pleased to represent as the kind of *armed truce* spoken of in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians. In their view the Christianity of the mother-church at Jerusalem was nothing but baptized Judaism, and the Twelve, with their converts, were mere Ebionites. Paul alone understood and taught the universal significance of the manifestation of the Messiah. Through him alone, *and in spite of the Twelve*, has the gospel become the inheritance of mankind. All that distinguished the primitive Christian creed from Judaism was a belief in the man Jesus as the restorer of the political and religious glories of Israel, and the only modification in this belief brought about by his crucifixion was the transference of the hopes kindled by his first advent to his speedy re-appearance to set up his millennial kingdom. In this poverty-stricken creed the original apostles lived and died. That Christianity ever advanced beyond it is the great historical achievement of Paul, who to the last was bitterly persecuted by the great body of the believers as a spurious pretender to apostolical powers. In Rome, in Corinth, in Galatia, his converts were seduced in masses by emissaries from Jerusalem, who must have been furnished with a real, and not merely with an ostensible but fictitious, sanction from some one or other of the Twelve. Of his struggles with this apostolical Ebionitism we possess authentic memorials in his letters to those churches, and all others that bear his name are spurious, as are even the two closing chapters of that to the Romans. The only other Christian document of the same age to be found in the New Testament is the Apocalypse, written by his rival John, which, besides that it bears an Ebionite and Chiliastic stamp throughout, plainly excludes Paul from his rank amongst the foundations of the New Jerusalem (xxi. 14), and praises the Ephesian Christians for having at length rejected with abhorrence his apostolic claims. (ii. 2.) Thus these Tübingen doctors not only begin like Marcion, but they also end like him, with a remarkable shortening of the canon, which they even manage to cut down to half the dimensions of his.

To console us, however, for the confiscation of four-fifths of our New Testament, we are considerably reminded that what we lose in one way we gain in another. Those books which we are so loth to see blotted out of the records of the apostolic age by the remorseless sponge of criticism, furnish, we are told, admirable materials for the reconstruction of the history of the

following century. All that we have to do is to sweep our minds clear of the current but thoroughly anachronistic notion that the final adjustment between the respective claims of the Petrine and the Pauline Christianity was the work of a single generation, rather than, as we are assured was the fact, of four or five such periods. Having done this, we are summoned to behold how beautifully the discarded documents at once fall into their respective places along with the gospel of the Hebrews, the Clementines, the Shepherd of Hermas, the epistles of Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp, &c., as organic links in the process. Each is a manifesto issued according to the peculiar method of controversy usual in those times, under the name of some apostle or apostolic man by the one or the other of the two great Christian parties. There is an earlier or more polemic, and a later or more irenic series of these writings, traceable to each of the two camps, until at length the main body of the combatants on both sides, wearied with their long strife, agreed to lay down their arms and to join in a compromise. In virtue of this *concordat*, the Pauline principles of universality and liberty, were mechanically blended with the Petrine principles of unity and authority; the extreme views on both sides were antiquated as heresy, viz., the original Christianity as Ebionitism and the Pauline as Gnosticism; the canon of the New Testament was settled, as we now have it, with the formal authentication of more than a score of forgeries; and thus the Catholic church was constituted as we find it existing at the opening of the third century.

Such are the broad outlines of the celebrated Baurian theory, to which, notwithstanding its glaring absurdity at first sight, its advocates have contrived to impart such a show of plausibility as has actually imposed on thousands.

Now it is obvious at a glance, that on the most modified supposition of the historical character of the 'Acts of the Apostles,' this fine Tübingen story cannot maintain its ground for an hour. Of this its patrons are of course perfectly aware. But so far are they from sacrificing the creation of their feverish brains to the credit of the facts there narrated, that they boldly declare the book to be a tissue of fictions, forged about the close of the second century, and of no more authority than the Clementine romance. Having done this, they even proceed to press it into their service as one of the strongest supports of their singular system. The key-note to this branch of the controversy was struck by Schneckenburger in his elaborate and clever essay 'On the Aims of the Acts of the Apostles;' and his hints have since been skilfully improved by other critics belonging to the school. They characterize the piece as

one of the latest irenic productions of the Pauline party, previous to its coalition with the Petrine on the formation of the Catholic church. In the purely mythical form of an apostolic history the author gives delicate expressions to the yearnings of his party for a prudent compromise with its opponents. His interesting romance is a skilful apology for the character and work of the Apostle Paul, paying due regard to the prejudices of the more reasonable class of Petrine Christians, and holding out to them the olive branch of peace. Hence the Council at Jerusalem, in the result of which the author's own longings are reflected on the mirror of history, naturally occupies the very centre of the book. Here Peter, who by the part assigned him in the conversion of Cornelius and of the Samaritans, as well as by the Pauline colour given to his various addresses, has already been transformed into an apostle of the Gentiles, becomes the fervid advocate of the Christians of the uncircumcision, and seconded by James, sets the seal of the Twelve to a formal *concordat* between the two great sections of the church. And just as throughout the former half of the book Peter has been transfigured into a Paul, so in the latter half Paul, by being ostentatiously subjected to Jewish observances, by being represented as everywhere seeking the synagogues in the first instance, and as preaching to the Gentiles only by virtue of an unwelcome necessity forced upon him by the implacable hostility of the Jews, by being made to circumcise Timothy, whilst the intractable facts of his refusal to allow the circumcision of Titus, and of the open rupture between the two apostles at Antioch, are artfully suppressed, as well as by other ingenious manipulations of the history, is completely metamorphosed into a Peter. Moreover, a very suspicious *parallelism* between the two rivals meets us throughout the book. Thus, to answer to the healing of the lame man by Peter and John at the beautiful gate of the temple in the former half of the work, we are presented in the latter with a similar miracle wrought by Paul and Barnabas upon the cripple at Lystra. Elymas, the opponent of Paul, who is smitten with blindness by his apostolic word, looks too much like a reproduction of Simon Magus subjected to a similar judgment with that which laid Ananias and Sapphira dead at the feet of Peter. So, too, the wonder-working shadow of Peter finds its exact counterpart in the handkerchiefs and aprons which conveyed to a distance the miraculous powers latent in the body of Paul. If Peter raises Dorcas from the dead, an equally mighty miracle must be attributed to Paul—the resuscitation of Eutyches; and to the divine honours intended to be paid to Peter by Cornelius and his friends, a set-off must be furnished in the sacrifices and



garlands brought to be presented to Paul and Barnabas by the priest of Zeus and the simple inhabitants at Lystra.

It will be easily understood how the industrious dissemination of these Baurian views should have had the effect of rousing the energies of the German theologians of every shade of positive belief, to the thorough illustration and defence of the religion and church of the apostolic age. Particularly have they felt themselves summoned to the rescue of that long neglected fortress of historical Christianity, the Acts of the Apostles, to the vast importance of which their eyes have at length been opened by the frantic efforts of a destructive criticism to plant its standard on the walls. The titles of a great number of apologetic works upon these subjects have of late crowded the pages of the Leipsic catalogue, some of the principal of which we have prefixed to the present article. We do not propose any very detailed notice of any of them, but we have thought it important to let our readers know that the eyes of Germany are at length all fixed upon that book of the New Testament, which has hitherto been most overlooked. In the case of Dr. Thiersch's 'History' (which, by-the-by, is a literary curiosity in its way, as the work of a *learned Irvingite*) remark is the less necessary, inasmuch as it has already attained the honour of being translated into English by an extant colleague of those pillars of the church with whose life and labours it is concerned—viz., the *apostle* Carlyle. It has, we believe, been warmly commended in Kerchever Arnold's 'Theological Critic,' which, considering the affinity between the modern Montanism embraced by Dr. Thiersch and the high church views advocated by that periodical, most of which are traceable to the ancient Phrygian Irving and his followers, especially Tertullian, need be matter of no surprise. The author's ingenious attempts to extract hierarchical facts and principles from the unfriendly pages of the New Testament, are deserving only of a smile. Thus he not only finds a prelate—Diotrephes—in John's Third Epistle, where we are quite disposed to agree with him, but he has even been so fortunate as to discover a *metropolitan* see in his Second, namely, in the term *κυρια* in the first verse, which word he assures us is neither the proper name nor the description of a Christian lady, but imports a substantial archiepiscopal diocese, probably Ephesus, with its suffragan sees around it. It would be unjust, however, to deny, that although the work everywhere betrays a hankering after a more sensuous Christianity than can possibly be found in the writings of the apostles, yet it is not wanting in striking and original observations, suggestive of fruitful trains of thought. We have not

seen Mr. Carlyle's translation, and consequently cannot pass an opinion upon its fidelity. But if, as we may hope, the modern apostle has done moderate justice to the historian of his primitive predecessors, the book will repay perusal.

Professor Schaff, now installed in the Theological Chair at Mercersburg, in Pennsylvania, enjoyed the high distinction of sitting at the feet of one whom he no less gracefully than justly styles a Father of the Church—viz., the great and good Neander. Worthily emulating his illustrious teacher, he has presented the land of his adoption with the first volume of an elaborate ecclesiastical history, which—should he live to finish it, as we fervently trust he may—is to be brought down to the present time. Although published in America, it is written in the first instance in German, for the use of his numerous fellow-countrymen settled in the United States. We presume that it will not be long before it appears in an English dress. The portion before us embraces the same period, and is at least as copious as Neander's 'History of the Planting;' indeed, even after deducting the general introduction to the whole work, which extends to upwards of eighty pages, we think there must be more reading here than is contained in the similar production of his distinguished predecessor. At first sight it may seem strange, and almost presumptuous, that an affectionate disciple should attempt afresh what his great master has already done so well. But who that knows anything of Neander can for a moment doubt that none would have been more deeply grieved or more bitterly disappointed than himself, to think that his labours, instead of proving an incentive to the further researches of others in the same field, should be held to supersede them? In the present case, indeed, there is no necessity to resort to conjecture. Although he did not live to receive Professor Schaff's volume, yet he was not only cognizant of, but took a warm interest in the work, which is appropriately inscribed to his immortal memory. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that it was not until a few years before his lamented death that the Baurian hypothesis, which has given such a powerful impulse to the study of the history of the early church, and especially to that of the apostolic age, rose prominently above the horizon. On the other hand, almost all the additions and corrections subjoined to his 'History of the Planting' when it was last subjected to his own revision, refer to this portentous theory, whose significance and importance he thus distinctly recognised. Since that time nearly every point that could in any way be brought to bear upon the controversy has been eagerly canvassed on both sides, and thus ample materials have been furnished for a recasting of the entire history of

the period. Hence we are far from thinking that Professor Schaff has performed a work of supererogation. Besides, to mention only one thing more, his theological stand-point is by no means identical with that of Neander, who, like another Laocoon, in his agonizing struggles with rationalism, often became not a little soiled with the monster's slime. The later church historian, without renouncing his German depth of scholarship and of insight, has happily learned, in the warm bosom of American Christianity, the blessedness of a childlike subordination of reason to faith. Not a trace of rationalism is discoverable in his work. No elaborate attempts to explain away the New Testament miracles, as though they were blots rather than blazonry upon the escutcheon of the Gospel, are to be found in his pages. He is enthusiastically loyal, alike to historical Christianity and to evangelical religion. The whole production is irradiated by a vein of sterling piety, and refreshes the heart as much as it delights and informs the understanding. We regret that we cannot give any more detailed account of its manifold excellencies. But we may observe, that it is prominently marked by that thoroughness (*ausführlichkeit*) upon which the German scholars so justly pride themselves, and that it embodies the results of a prodigious mass of reading, which the author's powers of thought have enabled him fully to digest and assimilate. Owing to a defect in the arrangement, there is a certain amount of repetition which might the better have been spared, inasmuch as space would thus have been afforded for a more copious treatment of the heresies of the apostolic age, which certainly required, in a work of such compass, a fuller notice than could be taken of them within the limits of a couple of pages. In our perusal of the book we have not lighted upon many passages of very striking originality. A novel point of view, however, whence to contemplate the apostolic history, seems to be opened up in the closing section, entitled 'The Typical Significance of the Apostolic Church,' a portion of which, on account of its suggestive character, we present in an English dress, without, of course, vouching for the truth of all the sentiments conveyed:—

'We start from the general supposition, which we sought to establish in the introduction, that the history of the church, i. e., its true life-stream and onward current, is in all its parts instinct with reason and worthy of God, a continuous self-defence and justification of Christianity, and an anthem to eternal wisdom and love; that the Lord has literally fulfilled, even in the comparatively darkest times, his precious promise, that He would abide with His church always, even to the end of the world. How, otherwise, could the church be defined by the inspired apostle as the body of Jesus Christ, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all?



‘In this process of the development of the new creation, of the divine-human life of Jesus Christ, in this epic of the Saviour of the world, and of his triumphant march throughout humanity, the apostolic period, “the century of miracles,” occupies a quite peculiar place. It is not merely one period by the side of others, but it is the fundamental and normal beginning, the pattern church, which gives the rules and conditions of all subsequent developments; the period inspirations from which ever afresh create new life; that one which sets before every age a definite problem, and imparts to it the power to solve it. Four thousand years were necessary to prepare the way for the manifestation of eternal life in our poor flesh, and to bring the central sun of the whole history of the world upon the horizon. For nearly two thousand years has it been shedding its light upon ever wider circles of humanity, and has been calling forth a series of thoughts, words, deeds, and events, which it is scarcely possible to take in at one view. But all which has happened in the church, and which will still happen in the future, will, nevertheless, to the last, only be the unfolding of the infinite fullness which, from the beginning, dwelt in Jesus Christ. The church will progress, both internally and externally, as she has hitherto done; but every step of her progress will be conditioned by a deeper penetration into the apostolic Word, and into the Spirit of the Lord which breathes therein. “In the apostolic church and its documents are sketched the grand outlines of the entire course of the history. Therein all subsequent developments are already prefigured, and, indeed, in a far higher sense than that in which the whole of Judaism was a shadow of good things to come.” That is precisely what we understand when we speak of the typical signification of the apostolic church. That church in its first superhumanly accelerated course has already, for all essential purposes, run through the entire process, which, afterwards, develops itself in wider circles throughout a series of centuries. It already contains, in the germ, the following periods, and all the different leading tendencies and perils which meet us in later times, so that at the close of the last age, and at the visible return of the Lord, one will be able to say, church history is veiled and predicted in the apostolic church, and the apostolic church is unveiled and realized in church history.

‘In the application of this principle to details, great caution, to be sure, is necessary; and we must never forget that the full comprehension of the history will then only first be possible when it has reached the termination of its process of development. It is not until we look backwards from the Incarnation that the inmost significance of *ancient* history becomes clear, as being partly a negative and partly a positive preparation for the manifestation of Christ—a voice in the wilderness, “Prepare ye the way of the Lord!” In like manner, the full light will then first irradiate *church* history, when, from the stand-point afforded by the Lord’s second advent, and by the perfected church, we shall be able to survey her whole painful pilgrimage of strife and conflict, from its beginning to its glorious consummation. Nevertheless, even in a partial knowledge, rich satisfaction may be afforded to our spirits.

‘Up to the present time it is plain that the history of the church has found its impulse in the colossal antithesis of Catholicism and Protestantism,—the chronological turning-point being the sixteenth century. In these we believe we may recognise the essential characteristics of the Jewish Christian and Gentile Christian stand-points, between which the apostolic period was divided; and hence it is by no means accidental that the Romish church, in which the principle of Catholicism has been most rigorously carried out, appeals mainly to *Peter*, as the prince of the apostles, and as its rock; and supports its doctrine of justification principally on the epistle of *James*: whereas, the reformers in general, and particularly Luther, stuck so closely to Paul, and drew their theological principles, and the best weapons of their opposition against the tyranny of the Papacy, from the epistles to the Romans and Galatians.

‘Like Jewish Christianity, Catholicism apprehends the Christian religion in close connexion with the Old Testament, looks at it mainly as law, authority, and objectivity, and is therefore rigorously conservative, laying the greatest stress on the connexion with the past, on works and doings, on outward visible unity and conformity. The correctness, to a certain extent, of such a stand-point, and its relative necessity, cannot be denied. To it belongs also the priority in point of time; for the law is a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ, and motherly authority is the school of riper years and of freedom. But just as Jewish Christianity was exposed to the peril of ignoring the other side of Christianity, of which Paul was the representative, viz., the element of evangelical freedom, and so of sinking down under legal bondage, and becoming hardened therein, which was actually the case with the heretical Ebionitism; so Catholicism has not escaped a similar morbid tendency, and has in manifold ways fallen to the level of a carnal Judaism. “What else is the Catholic church, especially in the position which it has taken up since its alliance with the Roman Cæsars, and by its absorption of whole nations within its bosom, but a gigantic resuscitation of the Old Testament theocracy upon the soil of Christianity, divinely permitted indeed, but not therefore to be always suffered by God to pass current? What is it but an arbitrary anticipation of the future glorious kingdom of Jesus Christ, in which he will reign over the transfigured earth, and over sanctified humanity? We may go still further, and ask: Has not the Catholic Church often, like Peter, denied her Lord? Has she not, as he once did at Antioch, accommodated herself too much to the prejudices of weaklings? Has she not, in carnal zeal for the honour of the Lord, drawn the sword against culpable and innocent heretics and schismatics, as her champion did against Malchus, and forgotten the saying, “My kingdom is not of this world?” Will she some day become like Peter in this respect also, that she will go out in the humble consciousness of guilt and weep bitterly, till she finds forgiveness at the foot of the cross?”

‘Against these Judaistic ailings and excesses of the Roman-catholic system, the mighty spirit of Paul reacted, after a long preparatory process at the Reformation, as it once did in the Apostolic council at

Jerusalem, in the stand at Antioch, and in his glorious epistles. The entire legal discipline of the Middle Ages pushed vigorously forward to this result, as to the ripe fruit for which the battle had been fought. Protestantism in its purest form conceives of Christianity as a new creation, as evangelical freedom, as adoption into the family of God, and as a personal relation of individual souls to Christ. So far as it does this in agreement with the Apostle of the Gentiles, it is a divine work, a great stride forwards in the history of the church, and so far as concerns the positive truth to which it holds, it can never perish. On the other side, however, it has in the course of its development gone in a great degree to the opposite extreme of unbridled freedom of speculation, and division into innumerable sects. In its zeal for the purification of the sanctuary, it has demolished many wholesome restraints, has become chargeable with manifold wrong to tradition and history, and in the heat of its passionate polemics has burdened itself with the guilt of ingratitude towards the Catholic Church, which—say men what they will—was its mother, notwithstanding, and trained its heroes for reformers. More than this, a remarkable analogy may be pointed out between the ancient pseudo-Pauline Gnosticism and the fearful power of modern unbelief, especially of the systems of Pantheism, blaspheming God, and falsifying all history, which has found its ripest scientific development in the bosom of German Protestantism, and derives from the Reformation its right of protest against Christ and the apostles, just as aforetime Marcion and other Gnostics were wont to appeal to Paul. Who will any longer undertake to justify in the face of Holy Scripture, and of the idea of the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, the innumerable divisions and party interests in which at the present moment the best positive Christian powers of Protestantism are being dissipated in so apparently helpless a way? Who will deny, in the face of these plain matters of fact, that the Protestantism of the present day is just as one-sided, morbid, and just as much in need of a reformation as was the Catholicism of the sixteenth century?

‘This reformation, however, we do not seek in a retrogression to a stand-point already superseded, but in an ultimate reconciliation between Catholicism and Protestantism, in which the truths and virtues on both sides, without the corresponding errors and short-comings, shall blend to form *the ideal Church of the Future*. As the forerunner of this third age, we regard John, the Apostle of Love and Perfectness, the disciple who tarries till the Lord comes. And that which will bring the same to pass is the thorough understanding of the Johanneine image of Christ, and the outpouring of the Spirit of Love. For in Jesus Christ, the God-man, the centre of the moral universe, lies the solution of all the enigmas of history; in Him, and in Him alone, wells forth the fountain of eternal life.’

Dr. Lechler’s elaborate work, on which we must bestow a parting word, is intended as a direct refutation of the hypothesis of Dr. Baur, whose pupil he formerly was. The shaft is



none the less likely to flutter the plumage of its lofty quarry in his airy flight of speculation, from the fact that

‘He nursed the pinion that impelled the steel.’

As a clear, calm, and logical disproof of his master's most cherished views by means of his own processes, the disciple's production must be pronounced a very triumphant performance. In the first book Dr. Lechler institutes and conducts with great candour and carefulness a detailed comparison between the teaching of the original apostles and that of Paul. The Petrine, Jacobine, and Johanneine types of doctrine, are each separately investigated. The representations given of each in the Acts and in the Epistles respectively, are very properly kept distinct at the outset, although they are afterwards shown to be beautifully in harmony. In like manner the Pauline doctrines are exhibited according to the four epistles, whose genuineness is acknowledged by the Tübingen school, as also according to the rest, and to his speeches recorded by Luke. The synthesis of the particulars furnished by these several sources of information, as to what Paul really taught, proves the utter groundlessness of the Baurian figment of the discrepancy of the records, and establishes the fact of their organic symmetry and alliance. The way being thus prepared, Paul and the Palestinian apostles are brought face to face, and their giving to one another the right hand of fellowship, according to the statement of the apostle of the Gentiles himself in an epistle of undisputed authority, is shown to have been no hypocritical formality, but the honest expression of their entire accordance in belief. The charge of Ebionitism brought by the new Marcionites against the Twelve is pounded into dust beneath the author's logic, and the ultra-spiritualism which they have been pleased to attribute to Paul, vanishes like a spectre as the truth is poured in. Dr. Lechler proves to demonstration that the primary type of Christian doctrine and the Pauline, although by no means identical, perfectly harmonized, being in fact but the complements of each other. In the second book the Jewish-Christian and the Gentile-Christian *churches* are similarly compared, and with strikingly confirmatory results. Apart from its polemical value this portion of the work merits great praise, as being perhaps the best statistical account of the apostolic churches, which has ever been given to the world. The remainder of the volume is devoted to the post-apostolic times, whence the Baurian party have drawn many of their most specious arguments, which, however, Dr. Lechler ably canvasses and logically confutes. It is right to add that the honour of this masterly production (which, by-the-by, we see has recently

been made' the subject of a very talented and highly laudatory review in the 'Theologische Studien und Kritiken') the author is well content to share with the Teyler Society of Härlem, a *reunion* of learned Mennonites, whose prize offered for the best apologetic treatise in answer to the Tübingen critics it deservedly obtained.

We have called attention to the books named at the head of this article, not from any fear that the Baurian scheme, which they all, more or less, discuss and refute, is at all likely to meet with much acceptance in this country; but because we deem it well that our readers should be aware of the fresh phase which German rationalism has assumed, and especially of the promising direction which this new species of antagonism is giving to the studies of Christian divines on the Continent. Many who profess to lead public opinion amongst ourselves, seem to be utterly unaware that the Straussian hypothesis has been antiquated for many years past in the land which gave it birth. It is too bad that our nostrils should be so shamefully insulted, as is still so often the case, with a hash of the tough and rank limbs of the old mythic theory. Rationalism has long since emerged from the caldron in a more youthful shape. Tübingen is still the Rome of continental infidelity, but Strauss is no longer her dictator. Baur now wields the *fusces*, and has issued his edict for the crucifixion of Peter, and the decapitation of Paul. But although he and his familiars mean not so, neither think so in their hearts, yet now, as aforetime, these hostile demonstrations will turn out to the furtherance of the gospel. Everything is to be hoped, and nothing to be feared from these changed tactics of the baffled enemies of the faith. Already the newly discovered treatise of Hippolytus with its copious extracts from the writings of the earliest heretics, who quote books of the New Testament half a century and upwards, before the date at which these famous critics have oracularly decided they were penned, overwhelms them with confusion, and gives the *coup de grace* to their already tottering Babel. But far more has been gained than any merely negative victory. The Egyptians have been *spoiled*, and still the sack proceeds. It was in an evil hour for their cause when they woke up the slumbering garrison in the trenches, by hazarding a sally upon apostolic Christianity. This fresh attack has been more disastrous to themselves, than even their former onslaught upon the Life of Jesus, and infinitely more serviceable to their opponents. It has compelled these to furbish up weapons of heavenly temper, which had been too long suffered to rust, but which at a former day conquered the world. To get the Reformation out of the rut in which its wheels have so long

been sticking, the one thing necessary is the right understanding of the apostolic church. Thanks to the negative criticism of Tübingen, the Christian intellect of Europe is now fairly grappling with that problem.

## Brief Notices.

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*History of the Anti-Corn-Law League.* By Archibald Prentice. Vol. I. 12mo. pp. 430. London: W. and F. G. Cash.

WE owe Mr. Prentice an apology for not having noticed this volume earlier. It was our intention to do so, but circumstances which it is unnecessary to detail, have prevented it. No man in the kingdom was better fitted for the task he has undertaken. Identified with the *League* from its origin, a personal attendant at its council, intimately acquainted with its constitution and labors, in habits of familiar intercourse with its leaders, and an earnest, unflinching advocate of its principles at all times, and under all circumstances, Mr. Prentice is pre-eminently qualified to be its historian. We are glad that the work has fallen into his hands, and that he has not permitted the objections which presented themselves to deter him from undertaking it. Had he done so, much useful information might have been lost, and the life and freshness of the narrative would certainly have been sacrificed. We can readily understand the difficulty he contemplated in speaking of living men, lest he should expose himself to the charge of adulation. His 'faithful, plain, and unambitious narrative' is his best defence on this point. He does full honor to the men in question—their acts speak for themselves—yet his own integrity as the historian of their measures is beyond question. 'A retrospection,' he observes, 'of the whole circumstances of the movement rather inclines me to wonder why, during its continuance, I did not feel a



higher admiration of the bravery, the knowledge, the prudence, and the patriotism of its leaders.'

The narrative given is minute and full, and if, occasionally, we are disposed to think that it might have been condensed with advantage, we readily concede that the importance of the history attaches value to the most trifling of its circumstances. It is easy to prophesy after the event. What has been accomplished appears but the natural result of the means employed; but those who remember the state of feeling during the earlier operations of the League, will not estimate lightly the forethought, resolution, sagacity, and confidence in a righteous cause, which those operations betoken. We regard the labors of the Anti-Corn-Law League as amongst the most signal events of the nineteenth century, and rejoice that such an historian as Mr. Prentice has narrated them for the instruction of future times. His volume is as interesting as it is valuable, and should find an immediate place amongst the household treasures of every Englishman. It brings down the history of the movement to the close of 1842, and renders us anxious for the early appearance of its successors.

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*A Manual of Geography, Physical, Industrial, and Political.* By William Hughes, F.R.G.S. London: Longman and Co.

*The Cabinet Gazetteer.* A popular Exposition of the Countries of the World, their Government, Population, Revenues, Commerce, and Industries; Agricultural, Manufactured, and Mineral Products; Religion, Laws, Manners, and Social State; with brief notices of their History and Antiquities. From the latest authorities. By the Author of the 'Cabinet Lawyer.' London: Longman and Co.

THE progress of discovery, and the alterations recently effected in the political relations and commercial pursuits of various countries, have rendered comparatively useless our older geographies. Happily the same activity which has superseded the older works, has prompted the supply of superior ones, of which the volumes before us are favorable specimens. In examining their contents, we have been much inclined to envy our juniors. Certainly their career is commenced with much better aid than was furnished to our youth; and we hope their advance will be proportionate. The works on our table are perfectly distinct. They do not interfere with each other, but may stand, side by side, on the same shelf, in entire harmony. Mr. Hughes's 'Manual' is the first systematic attempt 'to teach physical geography as the basis of other geography, and to apply known facts respecting the external features, climate, and natural productions of the globe, to the description of the varied social phenomena which different nations present to view.' It is not merely a book of reference, but may be read continuously, and that, too, with pleasure as well as advantage. We have rarely met with so much sterling information within such narrow limits.

The 'Cabinet Gazetteer' is in its line equally complete. Its general

character is denoted in the title-page, and the perusal of a few articles will suffice to convince the intelligent reader of its preparation having been a work of much labor and of great painstaking. As the limits of the work are contracted, it has been necessary, of course, to omit some places which are noticed in larger publications, but the work has been prepared on the principle of 'not excluding any place which possessed a notable feature of interest, from amount of population, intellectual or industrial activity, historical celebrity, antiquarian, and other remarkable local peculiarity.' The 'Cabinet Gazetteer' supplies, in a cheap and accessible form, just the information which is frequently needed by all classes. It is a sterling book, bearing the marks of extensive research, on the accuracy of which full reliance may be placed.

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*Montenegro, and the Slavonians of Turkey.* By Count Valerian Krasinski. London: Chapman and Hall.

COUNT KRASINSKI is advantageously known to the British public by several able works on the history of Eastern Europe, and his reputation will suffer no injury by the present treatise, which forms part of Messrs. Chapman and Hall's 'Library of Railway Literature.' The publication is most seasonable, and supplies just the information which was needed by English readers. The recent political movements of Turkey and Montenegro have given to the latter a prominence not previously possessed; while the interposition of Russia and Austria has attracted the attention of Western Europe, and compelled our statesmen to contemplate some of the gravest and most knotty questions of diplomacy. Hitherto our countrymen have known little of the mountainous district lying 'opposite to the coast of Italy, between the Austrian and Turkish dominions,' against which the army of the Sultan has been directed; and their ignorance has been favorable to the circulation of egregious errors, which some of our journalists have sought to promote. These errors will be best corrected by such information as Count Krasinski supplies in the little work before us, which throws much light on the spirit and character of the Montenegrines, their relation to Turkey, and the strong hold which Russia possesses on their attachment and confidence. It is quite clear that the sympathies of the Slavonians are with the Czar, and that if the integrity of Turkey is to be maintained, there must be a radical change in the policy pursued towards this class of her subjects. Count Krasinski's account of Montenegro was published about ten years since in the 'British and Foreign Review.' It has been revised, and the history is brought down to the present day. A brief account is also added of the Slavonic populations of the Ottoman Empire, and an attentive perusal of the whole will enable our countrymen to judge more correctly than they have hitherto done of the interests involved in the struggle just terminated, and of the prospects which mark the eastern section of Europe.

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*The Life of Marshal Turenne.* By T. Oswald Cockayne, M.A.  
London: Longman and Co.

THE age of Louis XIV. is amongst the most interesting periods of European history, and of the eminent men who contributed to its lustre, Marshal Turenne is one of the most distinguished. His name is familiar to English readers, though little is generally known of his career. His military genius was confessedly of the highest order, but his reputation is obscured by some serious blemishes. His Spanish treason, his expedition against Holland, and the murderous devastation he spread through the Palatinate, are crimes for which no genius can atone, and which associate his name with the most unscrupulous and ambitious of human destroyers. The study of such a 'Life' reads an instructive lesson, by which the rising generation may be improved. The false glare of military success is losing much of its former power, and must continue to do so as intelligence and right principles prevail. Mr. Cockayne has rendered an acceptable service by the preparation of this brief memoir. He does not avow what we feel, but the facts which he narrates speak for themselves. In his class, Turenne was pre-eminent, but his 'Life' clearly shows that military reputation of the highest order may be attained without honesty of purpose, or any of the humanities which constitute the true glory of man. The publication belongs to the 'Traveller's Library,' and will be welcomed by a large class of readers.

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*Cyclopædia of Religious Denominations.* Containing Authentic Accounts of the different Creeds and Systems prevailing throughout the World. Written by Members of the respective Bodies. London: Griffin and Co.

THIS work is constructed on a different principle from the volumes previously furnished to the public. The plan has some obvious advantages over that adopted by Evans and others; but it is not free from objections. On the whole, however, we prefer it. The accounts given of the several communities are supplied, as the title-page imports, with very few exceptions, by members of those bodies, and their names are given as guarantees for the integrity of their statements. 'The attempt to prepare such a work is now for the first time made in this country; and although there are a few unavoidable omissions, still the volume will be found to embrace, as a whole, a complete view of the tenets and history of the chief religious bodies in the British dominions, as well as in other lands.' The work has evidently been prepared north of the Tweed, and is therefore more complete in its account of Scotch than of English religious bodies. The article on 'The Church of England,' by the Rev. C. P. Miles, is written with great temper and judgment, while that on 'The Scottish (Episcopal) Church' is one of the most discreditable effusions of narrow-mindedness, intolerance, and bitterness we ever read. Our friend Dr. Cox has stated the views and history of the 'Baptists' in a gentlemanly and scholarlike style, honorable to himself and to the body to



which he belongs. The names of Drs. Jamieson and Symington, Professors Eadie and M'Michael, the Rev. David Russell, and others, fully guarantee the ability of the sketches furnished, and the reliable nature of the information given.

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*Cyclopædia Bibliographica: A Library Manual of Theological and General Literature.* Part VIII. London: James Darling.

WE are glad to report the steady progress of this work, which will go far to supply a desideratum that has long been felt by the theologians of this country. It is prepared with much care, displays a vast range of information, is free from the sectarian taint so commonly admitted into works of the kind, and displays, on the whole, great soundness of judgment and accuracy in its brief biographical and critical notices. In a few instances—and they are very few—we have marked inaccuracies and omissions. An example of both occurs in the case of John Foster, the essayist. He is described as ‘a very *elegant* writer,’ a character which Mr. Foster certainly did not affect: and his ‘Introductory Essay’ to Doddridge’s ‘Rise and Progress of Religion’ is omitted from the list of his works. This essay has been published separately, and is amongst the best and most useful of Mr. Foster’s productions.

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*Penance.* By William Anderson, LL.D. Glasgow: Robert Jackson. London: Ward and Co. 1853.

DR. ANDERSON is a bold and judicious assailant of the Papacy, whose popular style of address is well adapted to secure attention to the great truths he advocates with so much earnestness.

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*Memorials of the Life and Trials of a Youthful Christian, as developed in the Biography of Nathaniel Cheever, M.D.* By the Rev. Henry T. Cheever. With an Introduction, by the Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D. London: Routledge & Co.

IN these memorials a most lovely character is unfolded throughout a course of severe affliction. Dr. Nathaniel Cheever was descended from eminently pious ancestors in Massachusetts and Maine. His father, a successful publisher in the latter state, died of consumption at an early age, when Nathaniel, his youngest son, was but three years old. His early boyhood was singularly bright and happy; but in his thirteenth year he caught a severe cold, which brought on a disease which baffled the skill of physicians; and, after many changes of climate in pursuit of health, ended his days at the age of twenty-eight. His journals, letters, and descriptions of places which he visited, including Spain, South America, and Cuba, are instinct with intelligence and spiritual vitality. Having obtained a medical diploma, and the right to practise his profession at Trinidad, in the isle of Cuba, his health finally gave way, and he died at sea on his passage homeward. The volume is a very interesting one, a valuable addition to the Christian Biography of the United States, which will be highly prized both by parents and by youthful readers.

*Is it possible to make the best of Both Worlds?* A Book for Young Men. By T. Binney. London: Nisbet and Co.; Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1853.

IF fitness for usefulness is the criterion of excellence, this is the best of Mr. Binney's books. It invites remarks on the mental cha<sup>g</sup>ht and tics of its author; and on the changes in his mode of thou<sup>g</sup>ht and expression, as discernible in his various writings, when co<sup>o</sup> ecially with each other and with this the last labour of his pen. Esp<sup>o</sup> Evan- is this 'Book for Young Men' suggestive of considerations on anner gelical religion in its relation to 'both worlds;' and on the best m<sup>o</sup> of presenting Evangelical religion—of preaching the Gospel—to our own age. We earnestly recommend it to young men and to all who wish to make 'the best of both worlds.' Let parents give it to their children. Let employers circulate it amongst the young men in their service. To the author, this work and the 'Lecture on Baxter' have been 'labours of love.' To promote their circulation will be a service to Christ and to our generation.

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*Christ our Life: In its Origin, Law, and End.* By Joseph Angus, D.D., Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. London: Nisbet and Co.; Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1853.

IT is some proof of freedom from sectarianism, that an essay selected by three clergymen of the Church of England from sixty-four submitted to them, should turn out to be this production of the excellent President of a Baptist College. A gentleman in the civil service of the East India Company advertised for 'An Essay on the Life of Christ,' adapted to missionary purposes and suitable for translation into the vernacular languages of India, and this is the result. Dr. Angus's Essay merits the praise of perspicuous method, happily condensed information, moderate views, Evangelical tone, and transparent, unambitious language. We have examined it with much satisfaction, and can unhesitatingly recommend it as well suited to the use of missionaries in India, for whom it is specially intended. We hope it will be read with the best effects, in many an Indian dialect. At the same time we must add that it deserves a wide circulation in our own land.

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*The Law of the Sabbath, Religious and Political.* By Josiah Conder. A New and Revised Edition, with Prefatory Remarks. Reprinted from the 'Patriot' newspaper. London: 'Patriot' Office.

THIS re-publication is seasonable, and will help to remove much misconception on a question which has been warmly revived in connexion with the New Crystal Palace at Sydenham. We have no doubt it will have a large circulation, and will do much good.

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*Christianity in its Homely Aspects. Discourses on various subjects, delivered in the Church of St. Andrew, Well-street.* By Alfred Bowen Evans, one of the Assistant Clergy, and Lecturer of Quebec Chapel, St. Marylebone. London: Masters, 1852.

THE writer of these discourses professes to be a high churchman, and expresses himself with much sensitiveness in his preface in reference to the 'crushing hardships' entailed on hundreds of able and worthy men, in consequence of the abuses of ecclesiastical trust, and the iniquitous monopoly of church property in this country. The discourses are on well-selected topics—Immanuel—The Saving Loom—The Comprehensiveness of Christ's Mission—The Refuge of the Storm—Tossed Soul—Christ's Broken Heart—Christ's Presence in the Evening of Life—Conventional Religion—The Child-like Soul—God, the Comforter of the Sick—The Hour of Death—The Charter of Eternal Life—The Celestial World. The treatment is judicious. The tone is scriptural—evangelical. The language is simple and chaste, savouring sometimes of the antique, but always perspicuous, and far removed from 'the inveterate common-place of our sermonizing.'

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*Michael Angelo, considered as a Philosophical Poet.* With Translations. By John Edward Taylor. Second Edition. London: John Murray. 1852.

THE profound genius of Michael Angelo has long been the boast of Florence, and the admiration of the civilized world. His character has been painted by masters in Italian literature. Mr. Taylor's translations of his poems are highly finished, and the preliminary considerations develop very happily the influence of the Platonic philosophy on the spirit of the great artist, especially on the passionate love of the *ideal*, which is the soul of art in its highest achievements, whether in painting, or in architecture, in sculpture, or in poetry. The artist was the *man*, giving expression to his conceptions of the beautiful. As he drew near the close of life, a melancholy grandeur characterized his sense of the frailty of things sensible, and the eternity of the divine, the harmony of truth, beauty, goodness, and religion, and the sympathy of a great soul with things that are sublime and everlasting, are felt by every student of his works. We are glad to find that Mr. Taylor's admiration of the 'veiled truth and solemn beauty of the elder time' is spreading; and it will be no slight gratification to us, if we can induce a few more of our readers to cultivate a taste so refined and ennobling. Not forgetting the possibility, and the danger of mistaking *ideas* for *realities*, and substituting the witcheries of genius for practical faith in the verities of revelation, we devoutly believe that whatever raises man above the gross and sensual in his pleasures, does something in the direction of his true advancement, and needs not, excepting through his own perverseness, hinder his communion with the Father of Spirits, and his preparation for that pure region of light and joy to which the incarnate conqueror of death conducts his followers.



*The Lands of the Messiah, Mahomet, and the Pope, as visited in 1851.*  
By John Aiton, D.D., Minister of Dolphinton. London: Fullarton.  
1852.

WE have found Dr. Aiton just such a travelling companion as we should like. Even the little matters which the critic would find fault with in a literary production, will do but little to mar the agreeable instruction which our readers will find in his lively pages. It is only fair both to the author and to the publishers that we should cite from the preface the gratifying intelligence that 'the enterprising publishers have bought the manuscript at a handsome sum, and all is stereotyped, with the confident expectation of selling ten thousand copies of the work.' This strikes us as very pleasant reading. We hope the expectation will be realized. The book deserves the widest circulation.

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*Principles of Elocution; containing numerous Rules, Observations, and Exercises on Pronunciation, Pauses, Inflections, Accent, and Emphasis; also copious Extracts in Prose and Poetry, calcula'ed to assist the Teacher, and to improve the Pupil, in Reading and Recitation.* By Thomas Ewing, Author of 'A System of Geography,' 'A New General Atlas,' 'The English Learner,' &c. Thoroughly revised and greatly improved by F. B. Calvert, A.M. *Thirtieth Edition.* Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1852.

No work is likely to reach the *thirtieth* edition without substantial merit. The present revision is very excellent.

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*Researches in the Solar Realm.* By W. M. Higgins, formerly Professor of Natural Philosophy at Guy's Hospital, author of 'Household Science,' &c. London: Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1852.

AN elegant and perspicuous *résumé* of modern astronomical discoveries which may be advantageously used as an introduction to larger works since it compresses within small limits a large quantity of information, and is written in a pleasing and familiar manner.

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*A Guide to English Composition; or One Hundred and Twenty Subjects Analysed and Illustrated from Analogy, History, and the Writings of celebrated Ancient and Modern Authors. To Teach the Art of Argumentation and the Development of Thought.* By the Rev. Dr. Brewer, Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Author of 'A Guide to the Scientific Knowledge of Things Familiar,' 'A Guide to Roman History,' 'A Guide to English History,' etc etc. London: Longmans. 1852.

THE plan of this 'Guide' is comprehensive, and, by the judicious treatment of *two hundred* themes, is likely to supply a want which most intelligent teachers have long felt.

*Pearls from the Deep ; Consisting of Remains and Reminiscences of Two Sister Converts from the Roman Catholic Church for the sake of Conscience and of the Truth.* A narrative, accompanied by valuable letters and papers. Forming a Sequel to the 'Morning of Life.' London : Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

THE title of this volume is vague, if it be not deceptive. It is a collection of letters by two young ladies, daughters of a Scottish Protestant, who married a Roman Catholic lady of Irish descent. The father dying while they were young, they were brought up in their mother's profession, under the guardianship of the late Dr. Doyle, the Roman-catholic Bishop of *Kildare* and *Leighlin*. In the last illness of their mother, they read to her out of their father's Bible, whence she derived a hope to which she had been a stranger. The orphan daughters forsook the Roman church. They are both now dead. These letters contain very pleasing developments of both their minds, and of their genuine Christian character.

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*The Mission and Martyrdom of St. Peter ;* containing the Original Text of all the passages in ancient writers, supposed to imply a journey from the East, with Translations and Roman Catholic Comments ; showing that there is not the least sign of the Antiquity of the alleged Fact, nor even of there having been a tradition to that effect. With Preparatory Notices by the Rev. Alexander McCaul, D.D., and the Rev. John Cumming, D.D. By Thomas Collins Simon, Esq. London : Seeleys. 1852.

THE title of this volume sufficiently expounds its object, and the method which the writer has pursued. It appears to us to be a satisfactory correction of an error common to Romanists and Protestants, and to go down very deeply into the foundations of the grand controversy. Independently of that bearing, however, it is of great value as a specimen of elaborate historical criticism, which we regard as deserving serious attention from all seekers of truth, whatever may be their sectarian prepossessions.

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*Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Jones, late of Creaton, Northamptonshire.* By the Rev. John Owen, Vicar of Thrapington, Leicestershire. London : Seeleys. 1851.

THIS memoir will be read with much pleasure by every lover of simple-hearted evangelical devotion. It leads the mind through scenes of trial and of labour, of the wealth of poverty, and the might of weakness, which are even fraught with wholesome lessons. We will not quarrel with a 'high churchman' like Mr. Jones : our readers will be amply repaid for the perusal of the volume, by becoming acquainted with one of the most ingenious and happy, and useful of men. Truly refreshing is it to see, in real life, what a grand and immortal thing unsophisticated goodness is.

*Western Himalaya and Tibet. A Narrative of a Journey through the Mountains of Northern India, during the years 1847-48.* By Thomas Thomson, M.D., F.L.S., Assistant Surgeon Bengal Army. London : Reeve and Co. 1852.

THE interest of this valuable 'narrative' lies in the accuracy and variety of its scientific information respecting a portion of the East but little known. It is written in a calm and appropriate style, which will be highly appreciated by a class of readers, on the increase we should hope, to whom the possession of geographical, geological, and botanical truth is not less acceptable than details of personal adventure or descriptions of extraordinary scenes. The great elevation of some of the spots on which this intelligent traveller encamped—seventeen thousand feet above the level of the sea—and the varied climates through which he passed, as well as the commanding views of magnificent mountain scenery, which he describes, impart to his report a character of sedate grandeur seldom met with.

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*A Manual of Buddhism, in its Modern Development;* translated from Singhalese MSS. By R. Spence Hardy, Author of 'Eastern Monachism,' 'Déwa-Dharma-Darpanaya,' &c. London: Partridge and Oakey. 1853.

THIS Manual, collected in Ceylon, the region where Buddhism chiefly prevails, consists mainly of translations and abridgments of oriental works, and will be found highly serviceable to those who desire to study this ancient system of Indian theology. In ten chapters the Author expounds the System of the Universe—The Various Orders of Sentient Existence—The Primitive Inhabitants of the Earth, their Fall from Purity, and their Division into Four Castes—The Budhas who preceded Gótama-Gótama Bodhisat, his Virtues and State of Being—The Ancestors of Gótoma Budha—The Legendary Life of Gótoma Budha—The Dignity, Virtues, and Powers of Budha—The Ontology of Buddhism—The Ethics of Buddhism.

As Mr. Hardy gives an account of the books from which he has derived his information, and spent many years in the daily use of the Cingalese language, and in constant intercourse with the Sramana priests, we have no doubt of his general accuracy.

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*The Analogy between the Miracles and Doctrines of Scripture.* The Essay which obtained the Norrisian Prize for the year 1852. By the Rev. Francis J. Jameson, B.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. Cambridge : Macmillan and Co. 1852.

WITHIN a very limited space the author of this essay has clearly illustrated 'one of the many beautiful harmonies of our religion,' and has done good service to our common Christianity, for which we tender to him our thanks.

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*Four Months in England.* By a West Indian, the Rev. John Horsford, Wesleyan Missionary, St. Vincents. London: Partridge and Oakey. 1852.

THOUGH there is neither novelty nor brilliancy in this volume, and more of 'Wesleyanism' than of Catholic views of men and systems, we presume that the author's friends will be gratified by these recollections, and even by the gossiping references to particular persons and places.

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*On the Temptations to Error in connexion with the Study of Theology, at the Present Time.* An address delivered at the opening of the Session of the Congregation of Theological Institution, at Glasgow, in September, 1852. By Alexander Thomson, A.M., Professor of Biblical Literature. Published at the Request of the Students. Glasgow: Gallie. London: Snow.

THE main object of this excellent address is to caution the student against the pernicious tendencies of the age, especially the spurious liberality, the undue exaltation of human nature, and the idealistic piety which the writings of Coleridge and his disciples have introduced from among the speculative theologians of Germany. As a clear, discriminating, and truly Christian exposure of evils which are far from being either fanciful or slight, we wish it were calmly studied by all our candidates for the Christian ministry, as well as by those who, more advanced in life, would be glad to have, in a small compass, a true statement of the case, which, we have reason to fear, is very imperfectly apprehended.

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*The British Pulpit: As it is, and as it may become.* In Six Letters to a Young Minister. By the Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D., LL.D. London: Snow. 1853.

DR. COX has given in this short pamphlet his view of the criticism of 'Scottish Preachers and Preaching,' which lately appeared in this 'Review.' It is one of those subjects on which it is difficult to touch without disturbing the minds of excellent men who occupy the highest places in the Christian ministry for learning, character, and usefulness. We are happy to introduce to our readers the calm and judicious thoughts of the present writer on a subject with which his long experience entitles him to respectful attention.

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*An Astronomical Vocabulary.* Being an explanation of all terms in use amongst astronomers at the present day. By J. Russell Hind. London: John W. Parker and Son.

THE obvious utility of such a work as this, by so eminent an astronomer, precludes the necessity of our doing more than call attention to it.

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*The Highlands: The Scottish Martyrs, and other Poems.* By the Rev. James G. Small Bervie. Third edition. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter. London: Nisbet, Theobald. 1852. These poems, with their illustrative notes, are already popular in Scotland, and are well entitled to a hearty reception from all lovers of genuine poetry consecrated to patriotism, friendship, and religion.—*Looking unto Jesus; A Narrative of the Brief Race of a Young Disciple.* By her Mother. Second edition. Bath: Binns and Goodwin. London: Hamilton and Co.; Longmans; Whittaker and Co.; Simpkin and Co.; Hall and Co. A very elegant Christmas present for the young, conveying valuable lessons in a pleasing style.—*A System of Modern Geography, &c.* Edited by Hugo Reed. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. With seven maps. An excellent geographical textbook, for the use of teachers and learners, with the most recent discoveries and improvements, remarkably complete, accurate, and cheap.—*A Manual of Ancient Geography,* for the use of schools. By the Rev. W. L. Bevan, M.A., Vicar of Hay. London: Parkers. 1852. A work of obvious utility, not only to children at school, but to all readers of ancient history.—*Moral Portraits: or, Tests of Character.* By Rev. W. Leask. London: Blackwood; Hamilton and Co.; Whittaker and Co. Glasgow: Collins. We are glad to introduce these useful and testing portraits to our younger readers, and to all who love the young. The reader who cannot profit by them must be very far gone, not in years only, but in obduracy.—*Practical Hints to Sunday-School Teachers, &c.* By Richard Yeld. London: Groombridge and Sons. 1852. Intended for Church of England teaching, but containing hints by which all others may benefit.—*Simple Poems for National and Sunday Schools.* By Anna H. Potts. Cambridge: Dixon. 1852. Well meant, and well executed.—*Lord Byron and the Comic Dramatists of the Restoration.* By Thomas Babington Macaulay. London: Longman and Co. Another of the Macaulay reprints, which it is needless to characterize, with which most of our readers are already familiar, and which all may now obtain for one shilling. *The Greek and Eastern Churches; their History, Faith, and Worship.*—*The Inquisition in Spain and other Countries.*—*Venice: past and present.* London. The Religious Tract Society. Three numbers of the 'Monthly Series' of the Tract Society, which are prepared with much care, and supply in narrow compass, and at the low price of sixpence each, the result of extensive and diligent research. There are few serials better entitled to support. Such a work constitutes an invaluable boon to young readers, while its price places it within the reach of the poorest.—*Notes and Narratives of a Six Years' Mission, principally among the Dens of London.* By R. W. Vanderkiste. London: Nisbet and Co. The third edition of a small volume, which was favorably noticed on its first appearance, in our journal for August last. We are glad to find that it has been well received, and hope that its circulation will yet be largely extended.—*The Portrait Gallery. With Biographies.* Part XVII. London: Orr and Co. Considering the immense number of impressions which have been taken from these plates,

we are surprised at the good condition of the portraits in this reprint. The present number contains Reynolds, Hume, Rousseau, De L'Épée, Brindley, D'Alembert, and Adam Smith. The *Biographies* are reissued without alteration, and the work is published at a price which cannot fail largely to increase its circulation.—*Report of a public Discussion between the Rev. Brewin Grant, B.A., and George Jacob Holyoake, Esq., held in the Royal British Institution, Cowper-street, London.* The discussion reported in this volume occupied six evenings in January and February last. It arose out of a challenge addressed to Mr. Grant by a friend of Mr. Holyoake in June 1852, and was attended by a numerous and deeply interested auditory. The proof-sheets of the volume have been read by both disputants, 'and the Report is published with their joint consent.' The sale of the volume has already extended to some thousands.

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### Review of the Month.

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THE HOUSE OF LORDS HAS AGAIN REJECTED THE JEWISH DISABILITIES BILL. This constitutes, we believe, the fifteenth time of their lordships reversing the decision of the Commons. Many had augured from the success of the Canada Reserves Bill, that the time was at length come for the removal from our statute book of this relic of ancient intolerance and bigotry. Such persons, however, lost sight of the fact that the former measure was felt to involve the fate of an important colony. The rejection of the Reserves Bill would certainly have been followed by the loss of Canada. This was known, and few of their lordships were prepared—like the ex-premier—for such an alternative. No consideration of this kind entered into the debate on the Jewish bill, and the peers, therefore, were free to act according to their pleasure. It is probable that some of them were stimulated to increased zeal by the temporary suspension to which their bigotry had been doomed. The Earl of Aberdeen, on the 29th of April, moved the second reading of the bill, and distinctly stated that his opinions on the subject had changed more than twelve months previously. 'In the month of February last year,' said the premier, 'before the noble earl opposite had acceded to the government, he had communicated to his right honourable friend, who now held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, *his intention of supporting the removal of the Jewish disabilities* on the next occasion on which it should be brought forward in their lordships' house. He had subsequently made the same communication to his noble friend who now filled the office of Secretary of



the Colonies.' The same change was affirmed to have taken place in his associates, and we are not surprised to find that such had been the case. The tendency of events for some time past has evidently been favorable to such a revolution. We allude to the fact now, simply to note that the altered views of the noble earl and of others have not resulted from recent ministerial arrangements, and are therefore free from the suspicion which would otherwise be entertained.

The Earl of Shaftesbury, in moving an amendment that the bill be read a second time on that day six months, asserted that, 'If it be a principle of civil liberty that a man should be tried by his peers, it is equally a principle of religious liberty that none but Christians shall make laws to bind or affect Christian churches; and least of all should those be permitted to do so whose very separate existence was based on rebellion to that faith in which "we live, and move, and have our being."'

On this ground he based his opposition, and though the fallacy it involves is obvious *to us*, we do not wonder at his reasoning having force with churchmen. His arguments are, in fact, substantially the same as those which were formerly employed against the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and against Catholic Emancipation. The numbers interested in these cases was sufficient to overcome the theoretical objections of their lordships, but not so in the present case. If the Jews were as numerous and influential as were Dissenters and Catholics, the bill sent up from the Commons would have passed the Upper House. On one point the objections of Earl Shaftesbury were invulnerable. We referred last month to the limited scope of the bill, and the use made of this fact must have taught ministers the folly of having pared down their measure in order to conciliate opponents. On a division the bill was lost by a majority of 49, the number being 115 for, and 164 against it. The Archbishop of Dublin and seven bishops voted for the bill; four of the latter, Hereford, Manchester, Norwich, and St. David's, being present; and three, Chester, Durham, and Limerick, by proxy. The fact of government measures being opposed by a large majority of the members of the episcopal bench must be a mortifying circumstance to the dispensers of ecclesiastical patronage, and cannot fail to have its influence on statesmen. The presence of ecclesiastics in the House of Lords may be safely and beneficially dispensed with.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER has successfully weathered the three great storms which threatened his budget; and this has to all appearance secured the success of his scheme in all its main provisions. The first and chief of these oppositions had respect to the reimposing of a modified and temporary income tax, and the application of it, for the first time, to real property and incomes in Ireland. Although this was assessed, in the latter case, at 5d. instead of 7d. in the pound, and although it was compensated by the remission of the famine loan, it encountered the most vehement resistance from the Roman-catholic party, and perhaps with more justice from the northern province of Ireland, the inhabitants of which had not greatly participated in the

benefits of that loan, and from English and Scotch settlers in other districts, who with as little participation in the imperial boon, had occupied the regions vacated by Irish emigration. The attack was conducted by the Roman-catholic members with a degree of acrimony and indecency rarely exhibited in the English House of Commons, and which threatened serious consequences to one member, whose words were taken down, and who was ordered to appear in his place before the House on the following day. This opposition however, made up as it was of somewhat factious elements, signally failed, and a satisfactory majority gave Mr. Gladstone the first omen of the general success of his budget. The next division was taken on the continuance of the income tax, with the modifications recorded in our last review, to the year 1860, and issued upon a division in a majority of 71 in favour of the Government;—five hundred and seventy-five members having recorded their votes. The third was on the resolution of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the effect that the stamp duties, in respect of legacies, be made payable on every succession to real or personal estate, in consequence of the death of any person, under whatever title, whether existing or future, such succession may be derived. After a hot debate, this resolution was, at the suggestion of Mr. Disraeli, passed without a division. These successes ensure the acceptance of Mr. Gladstone's financial scheme in all its cardinal features. Some minor points in it seem to demand modification, to which we think he is not inclined to offer an opinionated resistance.

MR. CHAMBERS'S BILL FOR THE INSPECTION OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES occupied the attention of the House of Commons on the 10th. It was one of those movements which arise, not from a strong inordinate opinion, nor from the excitement of party prejudice, but from the steady course of events, and the public opinion which those events create. The Romish system of establishments for professedly religious seclusion has been of late years adopted by a professedly Protestant church, and the two together present an obvious case for legislative interference. It was justly urged by Mr. Chambers that our constitution ignores all vows which contravene the Habeas Corpus Act, and consign any individuals, whether male or female, to an involuntary and forced imprisonment. That certain eccentric ladies may prefer a life of seclusion, and that for professedly religious ends, to a course of active christian duty, is quite conceivable. They may not perceive that this selfish Christianity is anomalous and false, and they have an unquestioned right to their voluntary solitude, macerations, and penance; but in a free country it was justly argued that the vows which necessitated such a course of life shall be open to revocation. It is monstrous to permit a system by which a young girl under excitement, external influence, or sacerdotal duress, shall be immured for life, forbidden all the relationships which God and Nature sanction, and be subjected to the confiscation of her fortune on the condition of a silly or compulsory vow.

That the vows thus made have been in many instances compulsory, there cannot be a doubt, and even if it were not so, it is justly urged

that the case would be none the better. That a girl of seventeen should be bound to imprisonment and celibacy for life, in consideration of a vow ever so honestly made at that, or indeed at any other age, is a thing too irrational and unjust to be tolerated by any free government. We were not so much surprised as grieved at the opposition offered to Mr. Chambers's motion by Lord John Russell. The party purpose which his lordship sought to serve, in reference to the Irish members, was sufficiently obvious, and the arguments by which he supported that opposition scarcely deserve to be exposed. Let it be granted that certain ladies find their happiness in a life of secluded devotion, but let it be also secured that those whose tastes are less unnatural shall at their will be rescued from the living death of a compulsory imprisonment, if they desire to cancel the rash vow they may have made. It should be understood that Mr. Chambers's proposal embraces Protestant as well as Catholic conventual establishments. It proposes to place both on the same footing, constitutionally considered, with those establishments in which lunatics and convicts are confined. No violence is sought to be done to the deliberate will of any of the inmates of convents. The proposed measure only seeks to liberate those who are confined in such establishments against their will.

We cannot express our astonishment at the grounds on which this measure is opposed by the 'Nonconformist.' We yield a willing tribute to the talent and right-mindedness which distinguish that valuable organ of public opinion, but we must confess our surprise at the course it has adopted on this question. The analogy which it seeks to set up between the conventual and the marriage vow—the main ground taken in the article to which we refer—appears to us untenable, we had almost said absurd, to the last degree. Wives, in this country at least, are not compelled to that relationship, and when they have entered into it they cannot be immured and maltreated without a ready and successful appeal to the executive authorities of the land. The other arguments of the 'Nonconformist' on this subject appear to us to be equally valueless, and that especially in which the writer deprecates going into the same lobby with Messrs. Newdegate, Plumptre, &c., strongly reminds us of the rebuke pronounced upon Peter's repudiation of the 'common and unclean.'

THE CHARGES AGAINST M. KOSSUTH, which gave the 'Times' an opportunity of stigmatizing him as a man unworthy of the national hospitality he abused, have resulted in a signal failure. On the 5th the question was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Duncombe, and pressed upon the Government by Lord Dudley Stuart, Mr. Bright, Mr. Cobden, and others. The language of Lord Dudley Stuart may represent the conclusion of this miserable business. With an obvious reference to a bitter article in the 'Times,' which called for vengeance upon M. Kossuth, his lordship said, in summing up the speech of the Home Secretary, 'He understood the noble lord to have stated to the House, and through the House to the world at large, that there was no evidence whatsoever implicating any person except Mr. Hale, who was under prosecution, and therefore it followed that all the



statements that had been made to implicate M. Kossuth in the proceeding, as if he had been abusing the hospitality of this country by entering into unlawful conspiracies, and attempting or preparing to levy war with some country with which we were in amity, turned out *to be baseless fabrications and unfounded calumnies.* So fade away all the eloquent sentences in which the 'Times' denounced its selected victim as a traitor to the hospitality of a country which boasts itself as the asylum of the victims of foreign persecution. The anathemas of the 'Times' produced a natural re-action, and a meeting was held at the London Tavern a few days afterwards, which reproduced all the popular excitement in favour of this distinguished man, which marked his first appearance in London.

On this occasion a copy of Mr. Knight's beautifully illustrated edition of 'Shakspeare,' purchased by the pence of the sympathizing poor of this country, was presented to the Hungarian patriot. Lord Dudley Stuart presided, and conducted the business of the meeting with great ability. The speech on the presentation of the volumes, which were enclosed in an elaborate carving representing Shakspeare's house at Stratford-upon-Avon, was pronounced by Mr. Douglas Jerrold, who first suggested this graceful compliment. It derived its appropriateness, as is well known, from the fact that M. Kossuth acquired his singular familiarity with the English language through study of Shakspeare during his imprisonment in Turkey. The reply of M. Kossuth was characterized by all that electrical eloquence which has distinguished his former addresses to British assemblies, though its effect was lessened to a certain degree by long inusitation to public speaking in the English language. This demonstration is conclusive as to the sentiments of the majority of the population of the City of London, and the course adopted by the 'Times' newspaper, touching this fabricated complicity of M. Kossuth in a continental conspiracy is said to have occasioned an immense reduction in the sale of that paper. That this attack on our Hungarian guest has turned out to the great increase of his popularity and of public sympathy with him and his cause does not admit of a question. In this, as in some other instances ('Uncle Tom's Cabin,' for example), the 'Times,' notorious as it is for sailing with the stream, has crossed the current of popular feeling, and been compelled to drift for a while without a purpose, and then again to comply with those forces which it is unable to resist.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON has at length written a letter to Lord Palmerston stating the result of the deliberations of the Senate upon the admission of the Graduates into the University. This result is that they do *not* recommend it. They are prevented 'only by the opinion of Mr. Tomlinson, which raises various doubts of a legal character as to the safety of such a course.' This opinion, with the case upon which it is founded, is not printed with the letter, but is sent to the Home-office for reference to the law officers of the Crown. The Senate do, however, 'consider it expedient that the Graduates of certain standing should be enabled to express formally their collective opinion on matters concerning the

University; and that for that purpose they should be empowered to meet and deliberate in convocation; but that the concurrence of convocation should not be requisite to render valid any decision or act of the Senate.' To enter Convocation they propose that the Graduate shall either have taken a higher degree (LL.D., M.D., M.A.) or be of three years standing in law or medicine, or of five in arts. He must also be duly registered and pay an annual fee, with power of commutation. This Convocation is to meet once a year, as of right, and as often as the Secretary of State may authorize, upon the requisition of twenty Graduates. It is not recommended that Convocation shall elect the Senate, that body being 'of opinion that there is no authority to which the selection of the fellows of the University can be so well entrusted as that of the Secretary of State, acting under the annual review of Parliament.'

It thus appears that of the three claims preferred by the Graduates and supported by the colleges—(incorporation; convocation; and election of the executive)—two are refused, and one upon grounds which are not avowed. It is obvious that the reference to the law officers of the Crown of an *ex parte* case, carefully kept *au secret* from those who are concerned, will not be satisfactory. The matter is, however, at present under Lord Palmerston's consideration.

THE RELIGIOUS AND BENEVOLENT ANNIVERSARIES OF THE PRESENT SEASON have been more fully attended, and conducted with more spirit than in many former years.—The *Baptist Union* and the various missionary associations of that body held their meetings in April, when highly encouraging reports were received, and enlarged schemes of usefulness were adopted. The project of sending twenty additional missionaries to India, so liberally sustained by the treasurers of the Baptist Missionary Society, will meet, we hope, with the encouragement worthy of an institution which has been adorned with the names of Fuller and Sutcliffe, of Marshman, Ward, and Carey, and which has been so signally blessed in both the Indies.—The BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY, which celebrated its jubilee in March, held the largest anniversary in May that we remember to have seen, and was rendered doubly interesting by the strong spirit of freedom which pervaded the speeches, and by the large amount of the jubilee subscription, which, we believe amounts to more than £17,000.—The LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S ANNUAL MEETING was enlivened by the encouraging aspect of affairs in Madagascar, and by the presence of the interesting visitors from America, who have been so warmly received at Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Birmingham, and some of the most distinguished circles in the metropolis. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe made a public appearance on the platform of the CONGREGATIONAL UNION, on which occasion there were strong resolutions passed in condemnation of American slavery. The largest and most exciting assembly we ever saw in Exeter Hall was convened by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. The addresses of the noble chairman, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and the other speakers, were responded to with the most intense applause. The reception of Mrs. Stowe was en-

thusiastic in the highest degree, and gratefully acknowledged by that lady, who stood up and bowed to the meeting. Nothing could exceed the interest created by the speech of the Rev. S. Ward, a *negro* minister from Montreal, who denounced in burning eloquence the contempt of the black, which has so fearfully increased in the United States. As far as sympathy with the American Abolitionists goes, the British Demonstration has been as decided and vehement as anything could be—the difficulty is to know by what practical measures the great object can be forwarded on this side the Atlantic. Professor Stowe boldly represented this country as being more deeply implicated in American slavery than even the Americans themselves, by means of the extension of the cotton trade. It will be for the friends of the negro race to look calmly at that question, as we believe they will, but in whatever light they may regard it, they will surely not relax in their remonstrances with the moulders of opinion in the United States against an institution which *we* have abandoned, but which their laws retain.—We have only space to mention the interesting proceeding of the Wesleyan and Church Missionary Societies—the Religious Tract Society—the Peace Society—the Sunday School Society, now celebrating its jubilee—the British and Foreign Sailors' Society—and numerous other benevolent associations.

THE ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION held its annual public meeting on Wednesday, the 4th, at Finsbury Chapel, which was crowded on the occasion, there being a numerous body of members of parliament, ministers, and country friends of the society on the platform. The report referred to the change of sentiment gradually being effected in the public mind, to the gratifying results of the general election, and to the votes in the House of Commons on Mr. Scholefield's amendment on the Maynooth question, and the third clause of the Clergy Reserves Bill. This last measure will strike a blow at ecclesiastical domination in the colonies, which will presently be felt at home. The Miscellaneous Estimates and Church Rates were also adverted to. The circulation of the 'Library for the Times,' issued by the association, was reported to be steadily increasing, and the friends of the association were urged to put forth special efforts to insure a numerous and influential conference in the autumn. The statements of the report were loudly cheered.

AT A SOIRÉE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in Willis's Rooms, on the 25th, for the purpose of presenting an address to Mrs. Stowe, there was a large gathering of the friends of negro emancipation. Mr. Joseph Sturge was in the chair, in the absence of Lord Shaftesbury, who had been invited to take that position, but was prevented by an engagement in services of public benevolence at Chatham. The address, after welcoming the writer of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' to the shores of Great Britain, and bearing honorable testimony to the universally acknowledged literary merits of that extraordinary production, referred to the Christian principles and earnest piety which pervade its interesting pages, and expressed an earnest desire that the gifted authoress might be preserved and blessed



amid all her honours, and enabled to give all the praise to Him who had bestowed on her the power and the grace to write such a work. The address was appropriately acknowledged by Professor Stowe, on behalf of his wife, in whose views of slavery he avowed his hearty concurrence. The reverend gentleman stated that the cause of free labour, as more economical than slavery, was gaining ground, even in the United States, and he entirely responded to the spirit of the address. The numerous company had the gratification of free access to the distinguished guest of the evening, and of thus personally witnessing the unassuming simplicity and delicacy which will ever endear to them the possessor of that genius which has so deeply thrilled the universal mind of Britain. As fellow-labourers in the great work, we offer to Mrs. Stowe our warmest congratulations on her reception in the metropolis of the British empire, and trust that many separate courses of events are concurring towards the blessed consummation at which we aim.

THE SUBJECT OF CHURCH-RATES was introduced to the Commons on the 26th, by Mr. R. Phillimore, in the form of a motion for leave to bring in a bill to alter and amend the law relating to them. He proposed to relieve from the payment of church-rates all persons who presented to the churchwardens a declaration of their being dissenters. All such persons, however, were, in consequence, to be deprived of their right to vote in vestries on questions relating to the disposal of ecclesiastical funds, and to be disqualified to require a clergyman to perform on their behalf any of the ceremonies of the church. Sir William Clay moved as an amendment, 'That this house do resolve itself into a committee to consider whether church-rates should not be abolished and provision made for the charges to which such rates are at present applicable—from pew rents, and from the increased value which inquiries instituted by authority of the crown had shown might be derived, under better management, from church lands and property.' Mr. Peto seconded the amendment, avowing his nonconformity in the most distinct terms, and showing by an appeal to facts, the little necessity which existed for state-compulsion of religion. Mr. Collier, Mr. Hume, Mr. Pellatt, Mr. Miall, and Mr. Bright, followed on the same side. Sir R. Inglis was, of course, opposed to both propositions, and Lord John appeared in his latest and worst character. Mr. E. Ball uttered some strange and most inconsistent things, on which we should be tempted to enlarge, did we not purpose next month to notice the debate more fully. On a division, the numbers were, *for* the original motion 185, *against* it 227. *For* the amendment the numbers were 172, and *against* it 220.

**ERRATUM.**—For lines 4 to 9 inclusive, from the top, on page 575, read the following, which is printed *verbatim et literatim* from the proof as marked last month. The correction was omitted in error:—

Some are of opinion that it would have been well to lose all the beauty of Rousseau's works, if we had thereby escaped the vice he propagated. Certainly we must grieve that so much eloquence, so much intellect, and so many rich acquisitions, were bequeathed by a man whose life was stained by immoralities so gross and infidelity so reckless, and whose writings, by the very force of their attraction, have inflicted on society an amount of evil for which no literary charms can be accepted in the way of compensation.

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## Literary Intelligence.

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